

THE INDIAN WORLD

1. ~~XIII~~] FEBRUARY & MARCH—1911 [Nos. 71 & 72

DIARY FOR JANUARY, 1911

Date _____

1. A Conference of Hindus and Mahomedans was held to-day at Rajah's Hall, Allahabad, under the presidency of Sir William Wedderburn to discuss what steps could be taken to bridge the gulf between the two communities and avoid racial and religious animosities.

Sir Henry Cotton was the principal guest at a New Year's reception of Indians and Anglo-Indians at the London residence of Mr. B.C. P. Sir Henry urged the Indian guests present to cultivate independence and manliness. He trusted that they all adhered to the ideal of India becoming again a self-governing country. He added that the ideal was unattainable in a day, but progress was being made notwithstanding terrible and repressive legislation.

3. The first meeting of the Imperial Legislative Council since His Excellency Lord Hardinge became Viceroy and Governor-General of India was held in the Council Chamber, Government House, today. The Hon'ble Mr. Robertson announced that the Government of India had resolved to prohibit from July next the emigration of indentured Indian

Mr. William Wedderburn, Bart, President of the last session of the Indian National Congress, arrives in Calcutta today.

4. A resolution of the Government of Bengal on the report on Public Instruction for 1920 published in to-day's *Calcutta Gazette* says that the total amount of expenditure from provincial revenues has reached Rs. 1,00,00,000. The number of pupils attending public institutions has increased, it is said, in direct correspondence with the increase in the number of institutions. There has been a remarkable increase in the number of collegiate students and an increase of nearly 50 per cent in the number of pupils receiving primary education throughout the

On the Indian National Congress headed by Sir Bal Gangadhar Tilak called upon His Excellency the Viceroy this morning and made a short speech in reply to the address.

about 40 delegates of the Provincial Joint
Council in India and several educationists was
the presidency of Sir Robert Laidlaw.
The community and other important
straightforward and businesslike

the Registrars of Co-operative Credit Societies, and the Bhabad Exhibition ground. The Hon'ble Member, P. W. D. Secretary to the Department of Revenue

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and Agriculture, Government of India, presided and the Hon'ble Mr. W. R. Gourlay, Director of Agriculture, Bengal, acted as secretary. On the question of state aid most of the registrars reported that the loans were no longer required from Government to encourage the movement.

Sir William Wedderburn is presented with an address at a public meeting in the Calcutta Town Hall by the citizens of the United Bengal. Dr. Rash Behari Ghose read the address and presented the same enclosed in a bamboo casket beautifully mounted in gold together with a silver tea set bearing pictorial representation of the rural scene of Bengal and a silk handkerchief in which was printed the map of India.

8. Sir William Wedderburn, after having stayed for a week in Calcutta as the guest of the Hon. Mr. Bhupendranath Basu, embarks for Colombo tonight by SS. *Silesia*.

9. The second All-India convention of Religions commenced its sitting at Allahabad to-day. Mr. Saioda Charan Mitter welcomed the delegates. The Maharaja of Darbhanga who was elected President of the Convention delivered a long address.

The Rangoon gharrywallas went on a strike owing to the decision of the Municipality to destroy a number of animals affected by glanders.

10. Mr. Sisir Kumar Ghose, the founder and for many years the Editor of the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, died this afternoon at the age of 77.

11. Sir William Wedderburn arrives at Madras and is accorded a hearty welcome by the Madras Congressmen at the Mahajana Sabha premises.

12. Sir William is given a public reception by the citizens of Madras and entertained at breakfast by Mr. G. A. Natesan, Editor of the *Indian Review*.

Serious rioting took place at Bombay as a result of feuds between the Shiah and Sunni Mahomedans.

13. The publisher of the daily *Hitabadi* is called upon to furnish a security deposit of Rs 5000 under the new Press act for publishing an article with reference to the Bakr-id disturbances in Burhabazar and the general disorder that prevailed in the locality at that time.

14. The Allahabad Agricultural Conference, which was held with the Exhibition is held in the Exhibition Theatre. A large number of land holders, officials and others interested in agriculture and the development of the country were present. The Lieut. Governor presided at the Conference.

16. Mr. Dayaram Gidumal, Sessions Judge, was arraigned before the Assessors who found the accused guilty. He was sentenced to various terms of imprisonment.

The Secretary of State for India has issued a circular and of rules regulating accelerated promotion in the Indian Civil Service.

The Hon. Mr. V. Krishnaswami Iyer has been appointed a member of the Madras Executive Council in place of the Hon. Mr. S. S. Srinivasan.

Mr. P. R. Sundara Iyer is appointed a judge of the Madras High Court vice Mr. Krishnaswami Iyer.

20. Lord Hardinge received a deputation of the Indian Association who presented him with a letter of welcome. The deputation was headed by Mr. S. S. Srinivasan, Honorary Secretary of the Association. Lord Hardinge definitely announced that their Majesties the King and Queen would visit Calcutta after holding the Durbar at Simla.

The King conferred the decoration of the Imperial order of the Crown of India on Lady Hardinge, wife of the Viceroy.

21. Lord Crewe expresses his intention to appoint an Indian educationist as Chief Assistant to Mr. Arnold, Educational Adviser to Indian Students in London.

22. His Excellency the Viceroy presented the first class King's medal to an E. I. Railway shunting porter, named Ramlal Barui, for saving the lives of 2 children at the Birbhum Colliery line.

A Society named the Samaj Raksha Sabha was established in Benares city at a vast gathering of Pandits and other Hindus. Its unique feature is that both sexes from the highest to the lowest stratum of Hindu Society are eligible as members

24. The Provincial Council of Pretoria discussed the motion recommending the Union Parliament in pursuance of the South African Act to enact legislation preventing all further emigration of Asiatics within the Union.

At a meeting of the Imperial Council, Calcutta, (a) Sir T. R. Wynne laid on the table a copy of the correspondence regarding railway rates for carriage of goods.

(b) Mr. Robertson presented the report of the Select Committee on the Bill to amend the law relating to the Protection of Inventions and Designs.

(c) Mr. Jenkins presented the report of the Select Committee on the Bill to amend the law relating to the registration, surveillance and control of criminal tribes.

(d) Mr. Butler formally presented the Select Committee's report on the Bill to amend the Indian Ports Act 1908.

(e) Sir T. Wynne presented the report of the Select Committee on the Bill further to amend the Indian Tramways Act, 1886.

(f) Major-General Sir Robert Scallon presented the Select Committee's report on the Indian Forces Bill.

(g) Mr. Chitnavis moved a resolution regarding Land Revenue in the C. P.

(h) Pandit Madanmohan Malaviya moved a Resolution praying for the removal of inequalities and grievances in the matter of the constitution of the reformed Councils.

25. The Cape Town Appellate Court reverses the decision of the Transvaal Inferior Courts under which the latter declined to issue a registration certificate to an Indian named Chotabhai, on attaining the age of sixteen, and confirmed the order of his deportation.

Mr. Gokhale moved in the Imperial Council a resolution asking for a committee to inquire into the Public Expenditure of India. On the Finance Member promising a close scrutiny of all important items of public expenditure and a departmental inquiry, Mr. Gokhale withdrew his Resolution.

26. The anniversary dinner of the Calcutta Trades Association is held today.

27. The London Committee of the All-India Moslem League address Lord Crewe on the subject of the limited opportunities for military service of Indians of good position owing to the limitations in promotion open to Indian officers, however meritorious they may be.

29. The Sradh ceremony of the late Babu Sisir Kumar Ghose, founder of the *Amrita Basar Patrika*, was celebrated today according to Kshatriya rites when the twelfth day after the death of the deceased was completed.

The Midnapore District co-operative conference began this afternoon, Mr. Saroda Charan Mitter presiding.

30. Lady Hardinge held her first meeting of the central Committee of the Dufferin Fund at the Government House this afternoon.

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The trial of Vinayak Damodar Savarkar on charges of abetment of murder of Mr. A. M. T. Jackson, late Collector of Nasik, and of conspiring with others to murder the same official is concluded. The accused is found guilty by the Special Tribunal and sentenced to transportation for life.

31. The India Office enters into a contract with the Marconi Company for the erection of wireless stations in Calcutta, Delhi, Allahabad, and Simla, primarily for military and other State purposes.

DIARY FOR FEBRUARY, 1911

1. The annual meeting of the Asiatic Society of Bengal is held under the Presidency of Mr. Justice Mukherjee.

The Calcutta Corporation confirms to-day a grant of twenty-five thousand Rupees for an address to the King-Emperor next cold weather.

The Home Department issues a Press Communique regarding the presentation of Addresses to His Majesty.

The corner-stone of the library building of the Institute of Science, Bangalore, is laid by His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore.

2. The E. B. & Assam Government proscribe by a notification in the official *Gazette* almost all the popular Bengalee theatrical plays.

3. The Crown Prince of Germany arrives in Calcutta and receives an address from the Corporation of Calcutta.

4. The Crown Prince is invested with the degree of D. L. at a special convocation of the Calcutta University.

A meeting is held at the Overtoun Hall, Calcutta, to discuss the question of the depressed classes in Bengal, and a Committee is formed.

The Behar Industrial Exhibition is opened.

8. Sir George Clarke lays the foundation stone of the Tata Hydraulic scheme at Lanauli.

10. Pandit Herananda Shastri, Superintendent of the Archaeological department at the Northern Circle, is reported to have unearthed some Buddhistic relics near Kadia in the Gorakhpur District.

11. The Allahabad High Court dismisses the appeal of Madhoprasad, editor of *Kachari Samachar*, Mirzapur, who had sued the district authorities for damages for wrongful confinement and malicious prosecution.

13. An Educational Conference is opened today at Allahabad at official instance.

The office of the *Basumatt*, a vernacular weekly of Calcutta is raided, the search being undertaken to recover some copies of the paper containing an alleged obscene advertisement.

14. The Bombay Government publish a resolution urging on all officers the necessity of patronising *Swadeshi* articles in Government purchases.

Savarkar's case commences at the Hague.

15. Reuter wires that Messrs Hutlet and Sons, and other companies of South Africa, are sending representatives to India to endeavour to recruit coolies prior to the stoppage of indentured labour.

The annual dinner of Mahomedan and Anglo-Oriental Association takes place in London under the presidency of Lord Lamington.

The opening meeting of the Punjab Industrial Conference is held at Lahore under the Presidency of His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor.

16. Lord Minto is presented with the Freedom of the City of London.

17. St. Francis Xavier's Coffin, which had been kept in the vestry of Nova Goa since the last day of the exposition, is replaced by a rich Sarcophagus.

18. The fourth and the last sitting of the Industrial Conference of Lahore takes place this day.

M. Lanquet, a well-known French barrister, presents a memorandum on behalf of Savarkar to the Arbitration Court at the Hague which declines to consider it.

20. In connection with the suit brought against the Mohunt of Sitakundu shrine, the District Judge of Chittagong appoints the Nazir as the receiver of the shrine.

21. A C.I.D. head constable named Srish Chandra Chakravarty is shot on the Sikdar Bagan Street of Calcutta. He is taken to the hospital and expires there.

22. At a meeting of the Bengal Legislative Council (a) Mr. Slacke presents the report of the Select Committee on the bill further to amend the Bengal Vaccination Act of 1880, and moves that the report be taken into consideration.

(b) Mr. Macpherson moves for leave to introduce a Bill to amend the Estates Partition Act, 1897.

(c) Babu Braja Kishore Prasad moves a resolution urging that the Local Boards of the Tirhut Division be made elective. Mr. Filgate moves an amendment to it. After hearing the official reply from the Hon. Rai Kessori Lal Goswami Bahadur, both the mover of the resolution and the mover of the amendment withdraw their motions.

(d) In reply to a question put by Mr. Deep Narain Sinha the Government admits that a contract has been entered into with Rai Bahadur Narendra Nath Sen for publishing a vernacular paper to teach loyalty to the people.

23. At a meeting of the Madras Legislative Council (a) Mr. Raghava Row moves that members of at least some Taluk Boards be authorised to elect their President. Mr. Sheshagiri Iyer moves an amendment to this resolution to the effect that members of some Taluk boards be authorized to appoint their President by election from among their own number, subject to the approval of the Governor-in-Council. The motion in this form is passed.

(b) Mr. Sheshagiri Iyer moves a resolution requesting the Secretary of State for India to reconsider his decision regarding the establishment of a Department of Industries in Madras. The resolution being put and the members of the Government refraining from voting, it is supported by all the non-official members except two European gentlemen and is declared carried.

24. The Court of Arbitration decides the Savarkar case in favour of England.

The annual meeting of the Bengal Chamber of Commerce takes place today, Mr. A. M. Monteath presiding.

His Excellency the Viceroy visits *incognito* some of the student-messes of Calcutta.

25. The Crown Prince of Germany reaches Bombay and leaves for Europe.

The hearing in the Pandharpur bomb conspiracy case is concluded at the Sholapur Sessions Judge's Court and judgment is reserved.

27. The Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab lays the foundation stone of the building for the University Library at Lahore.

28. The Allahabad Exhibition closes today.

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GENERAL

Indians and Military Service

The honorary secretary of the All-India Moslem League has submitted to the Secretary of State for India on behalf of the League a reasoned representation calling attention to the "growing aspirations among the higher classes of the martial races of India for a share in the defence of the Empire, and to the desirability of increasing the opportunities open to Indians of good position for the military service of the Crown. Whatever method of meeting the claims of native officers may be adopted, the time is more than ripe for generous concession to the loyal sentiment and legitimate aspiration of classes of the community which are steadfast in their support of, and proud belief in, the British connection with India."

The Crown Regalia for India

We are told that the Crown regalia which are to be conveyed to India for the Imperial pageantry in December will be sent under Admiralty custody. It would appear to be still undetermined whether the special fireproof safes in which they will be packed will accompany the King and Queen Mary upon their own cruiser, or will be sent beforehand by a Navy vessel commissioned for the purpose. In any event, there will be no transhipment between the English port of shipment and the Indian coast. In all likelihood no definite announcement will be made beforehand on the point, for sufficient reasons, and unauthorised statements are not likely to encounter official contradiction. The special feature of the ceremonial to be observed at Delhi is not the recrowning of His Majesty as King, but his crowning as King-Emperor, and for this reason some interesting elements will be introduced which are now the subject matter of careful study.

The German Crown Prince

Before the German Crown Prince left Calcutta for home he requested the Viceroy to convey his thanks to all concerned in the tour. A member of His Royal Highness's Staff, Privy Councillor von Trutler, said on behalf of the Prince :—His Imperial Highness carries away from India most interesting, enjoyable, and affectionate impressions. This mighty country itself, its wonderful and varying scenery, its many monuments of ancient splendour, its records of the glorious deeds of British and Indian soldiers as well as of the accomplishments of modern culture and energy and the remarkable administration of an enormous territory by so small a number of officials have impressed themselves deeply on his memory. Further, His Imperial Highness most highly appreciates the kind hospitality he has received and the friendly feeling shown

him wherever he went, privately, publicly, and in the Press. These most pleasurable experiences will never be forgotten by him. India will always hold a prominent place in his affections.

Lord Morley as Autocrat

Lord Morley seems to have become rather sensitive to some of the criticisms passed upon him in Radical quarters. The critics hail with gratification his article in the February number of the *Nineteenth Century* on the government of India, in which they discern what is to them a refreshing vindication of the supremacy of the House of Commons. They cannot quite conceal their surprise, because they had come to regard Lord Morley rather in the light of the "lost leader" described by Browning. When he suddenly deserted the House of Commons to become a viscount they shook their heads, and said that even he was giving up democracy and becoming an Imperialist. Lord Morley would seem to be rather anxious now to convince them that they were in error. People who are not Radicals will take leave to smile at the little comedy. Whatever Lord Morley's abstract political opinions may be, he is in fact, an autocrat. They knew that at the India Office.

The Proposed Roman Script for India

Sir James Wilson presided at a meeting of the East India Association held at the Caxton Hall in February last when a lecture on "The Battle of the Characters, or an Imperial Script for India" was given by the Rev. J. Knowles who has been for 20 years an agent of the London Missionary Society in Southern India. Mr. Knowles said that one of the aspirations of Indian nationality was the use of a common script for the different languages of India. The alphabets of the Indian Empire reach the total of 50—a greater number than for all the other languages of the world, ancient and modern, put together. These alphabets are really syllabaries, any one vernacular requiring from 500 to 1,000 elaborate types to print. Although there are only about 63 sound in the 200 Indian vernaculars, some 20,000 types of the most elaborate character is required to represent them in print. These numerous complicated scripts are the chief, though not the only, cause of the deplorable illiteracy of India. He argued that there were only three alphabets which could possibly form the basis for a national script for India—the Arabic or Persian, the Nagari (the modern form of Sanskrit), and the Roman. He gave detailed reasons for holding that, of these three, the Roman script is by far the most suitable, effective, and simple for the purpose. But there must be adaptation. No system of Roman transliteration into Indian language hitherto adopted, as had been officially pointed out, had been able to dispense with diacritical marks, offering many difficulties in writing and printing. His scheme was to add to the ordinary Roman letters the phonotypic letters of the late Sir Isaac Pitman, Mr. A. J. Ellis, and other authorities, and certain Romanic letters for special Indian sounds. This code of letters easy to read, to write, and to print, could be applied to all the languages and dialects of India; and would also provide a phonetic representation for English. The Sanskrit and Latin languages were derived from a common source, and their alphabets were capable of mutual adjustment and assimilation. He suggested the appointment of a

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Government Commission to inquire into the practicability of a national alphabet for all Indian languages ; and that the scheme settled in consultation with Oriental scholars and educationists should be allowed optional use in schools and public offices.

The Savarkar Case

The Hague Arbitration Court appointed under the Anglo-French Agreement of October 25th to consider the case of Vinayak Savarkar, gave judgment recently for Great Britain. Thus the last hope of Savarkar's friends and accomplices of securing his release by a juggling with legal technicalities has been frustrated. It would have been deplorable if any other judgment had been possible. Savarkar was a leading spirit of the Nasik conspiracy, and it was he who supplied the weapon with which Mr. Jackson was murdered in December, 1909. For these crimes he has been sentenced to transportation for life, and the Indian authorities have only awaited the judgment of the Hague to carry out this well-merited sentence. The point with which the Hague Tribunal had to deal was this : While on his way to India under arrest Savarkar managed to escape at Marseilles but was promptly handed back to his legal custodians by the port police. The French Government thereupon demanded his surrender on the grounds (1) that the French authorities had not been notified of Savarkar's arrival under arrest in the port of Marseilles in accordance with the Treaty of August 14th, 1876, and (2) that the British police had no right to take him on French soil without a demand for extradition and a favourable judgment thereon by a French Court. This view of the case was, however, contested by Great Britain, and in these circumstances it was agreed to refer the matter to the Hague. The victory of Great Britain is complete. The Court has found in the first place that there was no violation of the Treaty of 1876, inasmuch as the French police were duly notified of the arrival of Savarkar, and, in the second place, that there was no "taking" of the prisoner by the British police on French soil, inasmuch as he was freely given up to them by their French colleagues. It is, however, not denied that the French police acted illegally in surrendering Savarkar : but for this, the arbitrators hold, the British cannot be made responsible.

Mt. Abu

An English correspondent writing to one of the home papers thus describes a visit to Mt. Abu :—

When we at length reached the top of the plateau our first impression was that Mount Abu resembled the barren rocks of Aden. At first sight the hill is one of the weirdest-looking places imaginable. Volcanic looking boulders and rocks of grotesque shape lie scattered about, some of them resembling human beings or reptiles, such as the Nun and Toad rocks, while others have the appearance of skulls. Our luggage was now placed on the heads of coolies, and, jumping into rickshaws, we were quickly drawn to our destination. The hotel consisted of one long, low bungalow containing a dozen suites of rooms, all exactly alike, and we were surprised to see fire-places in all the rooms, a thing we are unaccustomed to on the Bombay side ; but fires are very necessary

here in the cold weather, and we found them not unwelcome later during the rains. When we had leisure to look at the view from the balcony, and saw the setting sun shining on the lake that lay below in the hollow of the rocks, and heard the temple bells ringing out over the water, we forgot our first unfavourable impressions, and were charmed with the beauty of the place. The natives of this part are a finer and better-looking race than the Bombay people, and the Rajput women are decidedly handsome, with refined features; they wear pretty, bright-coloured garments, pleated skirts, and a profusion of ornaments. Mount Abu is in a native State, and Europeans living there are subject to certain restrictions. No wheeled traffic is allowed on the hill, save rickshaws, and riding and walking are the chief means of getting about. This makes it delightfully quiet and peaceful. Besides the temples there are many interesting walks to various parts of the hill, where, perched on a rocky seat, the visitor can gaze at the distant hills and mountains, and see the plains spread out below, with rivers and lakes shining like stars where they catch the sunshine. From one of these ledges we once watched a small deer run out from the thick covert of the hillside below, and immediately it was sprung upon and carried off by a little panther that had been lying in wait. Big game is not uncommon here, and during our visit one or two panthers were shot in one of the villages at the foot of the hill. Though these wild creatures are seldom seen, yet they constantly lurk in the caves and hollows of the rocks, and it is common for a dog to be taken while walking with its owner round the lake in the confines of the village. We have often seen our dogs suddenly seized with terror, as if they were aware of savage eyes watching them, when to us there was no visible cause for alarm. On one occasion twilight overtook us as we were passing through a rocky defile, and a native servant suddenly seized the hand of a child who was with us and dragged him hastily homewards, urging us to follow. He afterwards explained that he had seen bear lurking in the shadows. Peacocks are found wild here, and as they are held sacred, shooting them is forbidden, and we often heard their screaming cry or caught a glimpse of their beautiful plumage as they flew away at our approach. Pigeons, too, are preserved, and so tame that a fine pair made their nest in the verandah, where we spent most of the day. For the rest, the usual birds are found here—vultures, kites, minas, sparrows—but we miss ubiquitous crow, with his raucous voice and intrusive ways, and his family is represented only by a few ravens. Trees and vegetation are scarce, owing to the barren, rocky nature of the soil, and gardens are cultivated with extreme difficulty; but when the rains come, in a very short time the boulders are clothed with a dainty fern and foliage, delicate orchids, purple balsams, and mushrooms of delicious flavour spring up in the tender grass.

I have mentioned the volcanic appearance of the place and earthquake shocks are common, which the natives attribute to the anger of the gods. Cattle killing is strictly forbidden, and beef must on no account be brought up the hill; when some European smuggles it up in defiance of the law the priests say that its presence is sure to be detected by an earthquake shock. One night while lying awake we heard a sudden rumbling, like the approach of an underground train, and before we had realised what was happening

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our beds were being jolted like a carriage travelling over a stony road, and the whole building vibrated violently. Silence followed save for the reassuring sound of an ox cropping grass outside. But the night was not to be passed in peace, for several shocks each more violent than the last, succeeded, at intervals, until towards morning they died down, and finally ceased. Many of the inhabitants dressed and spent the night in the garden, for after the Dharmasala disaster they did not know what developments to expect. Fortunately, no damage was done beyond a few broken articles in the houses, and, though shocks are common here, the long existence of the temples proves that they have not been of any great violence for centuries.

The Financial Statement of 1911

The financial statement of the Government of India was presented in the Viceroy's Legislative Council on March 1, by Sir Guy Fleetwood Wilson, member in charge of the Finance Department. The chief points in the statement are as follows :

1910-11

The Revised Estimate compares as follows with the Budget Estimate published in March 1910 :

	Budget Estimate.	Revised Estimate.	Increase.
	£	£	£
Revenue ...	75,454,400	80,538,200	5,083,800
Expenditure	75,078,400	77,048,900	1,970,500
	376,000	3,489,300	3,113,300

The following are the most important variations :

Revenue.		Expenditure.	
	£		£
Opium ...	+ 2,960,300	Provincial adjustments ...	+ 2,443,500
Railways (net receipts) +	1,175,500	Military services ...	— 223,500
Customs ...	+ 478,700	Railways (interest and miscellaneous charges)	— 216,100
Interest re- ceipts ...	+ 303,600	Civil departments ...	— 105,700
Excise ...	+ 133,400		
Irrigation ...	+ 128,300		
Salt ...	— 232,100		
Land Revenue	— 101,800		

The great increase in the opium revenue is due to the unprecedented prices realised at the Calcutta sales. Of the abnormal receipts from this source £981,200 has been granted to Provincial Governments to be used for non-recurring expenditure on education and sanitation, while about £2,000,000 will be devoted to the discharge of temporary debt. The railways have benefited by good passenger returns and by heavy traffic in cotton, wheat, and seeds, while there have been considerable savings in the working expenses. The imports of silver have been much heavier than was anticipated, and the increase in the Customs revenue is almost entirely due to this cause. The growth of the revenue generally has been favoured by good seasons and agricultural prosperity. The decline in the salt revenue is not due to decreased consumption, but to an

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extension of the credit sales system in Bengal. In addition to the special grants of £981,200 made to the Provincial Governments for Education and Sanitation referred to above, further grants of £873,600 have been made to them for various other purposes, and the increased expenditure shown under the head of provincial adjustments is mainly attributable to this cause.

1911-12.

The Budget estimate shows a surplus of £743,800. The more important variations in the figures, as compared with the revised estimate for the current year, are as follows :—

REVENUE.			Increase.	Decrease.
Land Revenue	...	...	£370,900	.....
Salt	...	...	128,800	.....
Excise	...	...	240,300	.....
Railways (net receipts)	...	...	142,000	.....
Post Office	...	...	131,100	.....
Opium	...	...	.....	£3,330,500
Customs	...	...	.....	303,000
Interest	...	...	.....	271,900

EXPENDITURE.			Increase.	Decrease.
Civil Departments	...	...	£1,857,300	.....
Civil Works	...	...	631,800	.....
Railways (interest and miscellaneous charges)	...	...	262,500	.....
Irrigation	...	...	194,100	.....
Military Services	...	...	181,500	.....
Provincial Adjustments	...	...	.....	£3,277,700

Revenue.—In pursuance of the policy of restricting the opium trade, the number of chests to be offered for sale in 1911-12 will be smaller than in the current year, and it is assumed that the prices which will be realised will be very much lower.

Expenditure.—A considerable portion of the large grants made to Provincial Governments during the current year for educational and other purposes will be expended in 1911-12, and provision is also made for outlay in connection with his Majesty's approaching visit to India. On the other hand, the Provincial Balances, which have been increased by £1,821,000 during the current year, will be drawn upon to the extent of £1,456,000.

Capital Expenditure.—The capital expenditure in 1911-12 on Railways and Irrigation works is estimated as follows :

Railways—		
Open Lines, including Rolling Stock	...	£6,357,400
Lines under construction	...	2,382,600
New Lines	...	760,000
		£9,500,000

Irrigation £1,266,700

Council Bills.—The sales, for the purpose of meeting the requirements of the Secretary of State, are estimated at £15,825,000, but additional bills will be sold if needed to meet trade requirements.

Subsidy to Newspapers

In reply to a question put by the Hon'ble Rajah of Dighapatia in the Imperial Council on the 7th of March last, the Hon'ble Mr. Earle replied :—

"The Imperial Government do not subsidise any newspapers, but merely take such a number of copies of newspapers as they require for departmental purposes. Local Governments, no doubt also do this. The Government of Bengal have arranged to subscribe for 25,000 copies of a weekly vernacular newspaper to be published by Rai Narendra Nath Sen Bahadur, Editor of the *Indian Mirror*, at an annual cost of Rs. 62,500, for distribution to panchayats, educational institutions and Government offices. The Government of Bombay have arranged to subscribe for 10,000 copies of a weekly Marathi newspaper called *Jagat Vritta* at an annual cost of Rs. 15,000 for a period of five years. The United Provinces Government subscribe for 300 copies of a Vernacular newspaper for distribution to tashils, Thanas and Schools. The name of the newspaper is the *Independent*, the language in which it is published is Urdu, and the amount paid as subscription is Rs. 3 a copy. The Government of Eastern Bengal and Assam are making arrangements to subscribe for 10,000 copies of a weekly Vernacular newspaper, at a cost of Rs. 2 a copy. The newspaper will presumably be in Bengali ; but its name has not yet been settled. The grounds upon which it has been decided to subsidise Vernacular newspapers are as follows :—In England all shades of opinion are expressed in newspapers conducted by private enterprise. In India this is not the case ; and it is to be regretted amongst journals in the Vernacular upon which the greater part of the population has to depend for their information, the views of Government meet with but slender support. It has been, therefore, considered desirable to place the views of Government within the reach of those who study the local Press of this country, in order that they may be in a position to judge for themselves as to the validity of the criticisms directed by the local journals against the views and actions of Government. The measures taken are experimental, and further action will depend on the result."

Viceroy and Students

Quite a stir was made in Calcutta late in February by a visit which the Viceroy paid, incognito, to several of the students' hostels, under the guidance of the Rev. W. G. H. Holmes, of the Oxford Mission, who is in close touch with students' circles. Father Holmes had told the students beforehand of his intention of bringing a few European friends to see them, so that when the Viceroy, with Mr. DuBoulay, the Private Secretary, and an aide-de-camp motored down in company with Father Holmes, the students were prepared to receive the Rev. gentleman's friends, whom they took to be "only ordinary European gentlemen." They had no idea, so a representative of the *Englishman* was told, who it was, who was asking them questions about the number of hours they worked, and the books they read and the games they played. Only one student confessed that he had some idea of the rank of his visitor. The others stated that they could not believe "a Viceroy could be so good and kind." "We had not even dreamed of a visit from

the Viceroy," said a student in the Metropolitan Institution hostel in Sukea Street. "He shook hands with us, and talked to us so kindly," said Kalidas Bhattacharjee reflectively. "He even wished me success in the examination." It is among the younger students that Lord Hardinge has the most fervent admirers in the hostels. "He is a jolly fellow; he is always smiling," was the frank expression of opinion of one of these boys. At the Medical College hostel in Protul Chatterjee-lane, the students confirm the opinion that Lord Hardings is "a jolly fellow." There His Excellency showed the same interest in the life of the students as in the other hostels. One Mr. Mukerjee was pointed out by some students as the inmate of the hostel who had spoken to Lord Hardinge. "Yes, the Viceroy spoke to me," said Mookerjee, with visible pride; "I was busy with a microscope when he came into my room. I had not the least idea who he was. I even showed him a few slides under the microscope." His Excellency showed the greatest interest in the work of the students. In the words of one of them, "he spoke so very sympathetically about examinations that we took him for an educationist." He asked them about their aims in life, if they intended entering Government service or adopting a professional career, and about the system obtaining in each mess, and the number of students in the hostels. An impression prevails among the students that the Viceroy's visit was in connection with the hostel scheme. They are jubilant over the prospects of having a large, comfortable hostel in a central locality in Cornwallis Street or thereabouts. One of them is stated to have criticised adversely in the presence of the Viceroy the project of establishing a hostel in the northern section of the town. Whatever the object of the visit, it is certain, says the *Englishman*, that it has produced a remarkable effect on the outlook of the residents of the "Quarter" in Calcutta. Lord Hardinge has revealed to them the human side of a Viceroy, and it has created a profound impression on their pliant minds. He has accomplished in one brief morning what would have taken another perhaps a life-time.

Educational progress

A statement has been published in the *Gazette of India* of the 11th March last, by the Department of Education, showing the educational progress in the several provinces in the various stages of education during the 4 years from 1906-7 to 1909-10. We find from the statement that the number of Arts Colleges for boys at the end of 1909-10 has remained stationary, as compared with the year 1906-7 the number being 128. In Madras, and Bengal the number has gone down, while in Eastern Bengal and Assam, the Punjab, Burma, the Central Provinces and Behar and the North-West Frontier Province, it has remained the same. The only Province which shows some increase is the United Provinces, where the number of Colleges is now 31. If we consider the number of students receiving higher education, the result is hardly more satisfactory. The total number of pupils in all Colleges in India was 18,758 in 1906-7 and 22,912 in 1909-10. This increase in number is nothing to be proud of. In the Madras Presidency however, the number has, as a matter of fact, fallen from 4,648 in 1906-7 to 3,911 in the year 1909-10 the only other Province sharing to some extent this notoriety being the North West Frontier Pro-

vince. The increase in the number of students in Colleges in Bombay inconsiderable, while, Bengal, the new Province, the United Provinces and the Punjab show better results. According to the statement again, the number of High Schools for boys which, in some provinces include vernacular High Schools also, increased from 1,165 to 1,190 during the period and the number of pupils from 286,391 to 344,647. The number of pupils has been increasing more than the number of schools, and in several provinces, the existing schools cannot hold more. Moreover, as Mr. Orange has remarked, the growth in the number in the quinquennium ending 1907 was less than in the previous one. The increasing demands for men with some education that have arisen with the creation of new openings argue for extended facilities being provided for the extension of education ; and yet, the Governments of the various Provinces, in conformity, as it is believed, with the views of the Government of India, have begun to initiate schemes for increasing the efficiency of Secondary institutions which, it is feared, would check the growth of Secondary education. Fees have been proposed to be raised in many of the Provinces and the conditions of recognition have, as a result of the new educational policy, been made very stringent. The Hon'ble Mr. Bntler was at some pains, in the Imperial Legislative Council Meeting on the 27th March last, to show that there has been no change of policy even for a single day in regard to Secondary education since the Despatch of 1854 and defended the proposed establishment of model Schools in this Presidency, somewhat ineffectively in our opinion. The Hon'ble Mr. Subba Rao, in his speech, strengthened his case against model Schools by quotations from the famous Despatch of 1854 which strongly advocated the policy of continuous withdrawal of the State from the field of Secondary education which was followed more quickly and with better results in Madras. This policy was deliberately departed from first in 1899 and then in 1904, apparently with a desire on the part of Government to control Secondary education. A satisfactory case for the model Schools has yet to be made out. We find from the statement published that the number of public institutions for boys in the primary grade increased from 102, 947 in 1906-7 to 107,463 in 1909-10 and the number of pupils from 3,424,618 to 3,888,671 the United Provinces showing a deplorable decrease in the number of schools and a very insignificant increase in the number of scholars, though in respect of the latter the condition of things has been deteriorating for the last three years.

INDUSTRIAL & COMMERCIAL

The Fiduciary Issue

When the Indian paper currency system was established, the fiduciary issue was fixed at 6 crores. It was subsequently raised to 8, then to 10, and then again to the present figure of 12 crores, of which 10 crores are held in Rupee Paper in India, and 2 crores in sterling securities in London. It is reported that the Government have

decided to make another issue of two crores to the fiduciary issue, making the total 14 crores. Whether the addition of 2 crores will be represented by currency securities in India, or by sterling securities in London, does not appear yet to have been settled. The new Indian Budget provides for a rupee loan of 2 crores. Possibly this loan may be taken by the Currency Department, as occurred once before. But this is only a surmise.

Wireless Telegraphy in India

The India Office has just concluded a contract with Marconi's Wireless Telegraph Company (Limited) for the erection of wireless telegraph stations on the Marconi system at Calcutta, Delhi, Allahabad, and Simla. These stations will be used primarily for military and other Government purposes, and it is hoped that they will be completed in time for the Durbar. The range of the stations at Calcutta, Delhi and Allahabad will be 600 miles, and that of the Simla station 300 miles. The total cost of this enterprise will amount to £50,000. So far wireless telegraphy has not been developed to a large extent in the Indian Empire. Short range stations have been at work on the Hooghly, at Bombay, in the Andaman Islands, and also in Burma. This contract embodies the first extensive use of wireless telegraphy for inland communication.

Indian Emigrants in Natal

In connection with the decision of the Indian Government prohibiting indentured emigration to Natal after July, we learn that the number of indentured Indian emigrants in Natal is now 25,307, of whom 16,939 are on first indentures, and 8,368 re-indentured. As the coolies are accompanied from India by women and children in the proportion of 40 per cent. of their whole number, the indentured Indian population, including families, is estimated at about 35,000. About a third of the indentured Indians are employed on sugar estates. In the collieries there were 3,711 Indians as against 4,932 natives, last November, and it is said that for certain underground work requiring knowledge it is impossible to make use of Kaffirs. Some idea of the effect of the Indian Government's decision may be formed if certain facts are mentioned bearing on the recent labour supply from India. In 1905 the Immigration Trust Board asked the sugar and tea planters to state their requirements for the next three years. The planters applied for 15,700 Indians, but in the three years only 9,500 were brought in. In 1908 they were again asked to apply for two years' supply. They asked for 6,734, of whom 4,450 came, and 212 are still expected to come. Some months ago they similarly requisitioned for 1911 and 1912, asking for over 15,000 Indians, but in the new circumstances only some 600 are likely to come to hand. We understand that the white labour alternative is rejected by the Natal sugar growers as energetically as by the Rand mining managers. Natalians are reported generally to take the Indian Government's action philosophically, partly, perhaps, because something of the sort has been anticipated for months past.

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The Indian Cotton Crop

The Indian Government's final forecast of the present cotton crop, shows the area as 21,948,000 acres, an increase of 1,427,000 acres, or 7 per cent., on last year, and larger than in any preceding one, 1906-7 excepted, when it was exceeded by 618,000 acres. The outturn is estimated at 4,385,000 bales of 400 lbs, a decrease on the revised and increased estimates of last season of 331,000 bales, or 7 per cent., but 283,000 bales less than the forecast of last December. We give the official returns for the present and the previous three years :—

Final Estimates in Thousands of Acres and Bales of 400 lbs.

Provinces.	Acres.				Bales.			
	1907-8	1908-9	09-10	1910-1	1907-8	1908-9	09-10	1910-1
Bombay ...	7,101	6,241	6,469	6,967	1,039	1,282	1,661	1,695
Sind ..	259	259	214	267	135	101	104	94
Punjab ...	1,474	1,562	1,436	1,386	356	324	396	314
N.-W. Frontier	48	54	32	33	9	12	7	8
United Provinces	1,461	1,392	1,241	1,343	268	426	384	347
Rajputana ...	438	389	464	465	9	79	148	143
Ajmir-Meywara	41	40	39	45	10	9	15	20
Central India	993	978	1,014	1,237	55	144	219	234
Berar ...	3,168	3,018	3,029	3,193	371	405	663	521
Central Provinces	1,264	1,158	1,138	1,200	224	226	407	289
Bengal ...	70	64	67	68	14	14	17	18
E. Bengal and Assam ..	79	97	99	99	24	21	18	24
Hyderabad ...	3,100	2,902	3,401	3,566	293	307	461	410
Madras ...	1,855	1,576	1,569	1,810	198	162	180	228
Mysore ...	84	65	81	101	6	3	6	10
Burma ...	195	20	198	169	29	41	32	39
Total ..	21,630	19,999	20,521	21,948	3,122	3,691	4,716	4,385

SELECTIONS

EDUCATION IN INDIA

VIII.—THE COMMISSION OF 1882

Careful enough attention has not been paid of recent years to the influence of the recommendations of the Education Commission of 1882 in determining the development of education in India between 1882 and 1900. In relation to the present undertaking they demand attention very specially, because one of the tendencies of the present time is in a direction precisely opposite to the most important and far-reaching of its recommendations ; while others of its important recommendations, which have been allowed to fall out of view, are among those being now specially pressed for consideration.

The reasons given for the appointment of the Commission were the length of time that had elapsed since the despatch of 1854 and the consequent expediency of "a more careful examination into the results attained and into the working of the present arrangements than has hitherto been attempted." It was really due largely to outside agitation and to the pledges given by the Marquis of Ripon before leaving England in 1880 for a thorough and searching inquiry how far the prescriptions of the despatch had been followed. The precise instructions given to the Commission were accordingly "to enquire particularly . . . into the manner in which effect has been given to the principles of the Despatch of 1854 ; and to suggest such measures as it may think desirable in order to the further carrying out of the policy therein laid down." There were "certain limitations" of the field of enquiry and it is specially noteworthy that "the general working of the Indian Universities" was one of the subjects so excepted. The exception did not, however, extend to University education as carried on in the colleges.

The Commission was appointed in February, 1882. Sir William Hunter (at the time Member of the Viceroy's Legislative Council) was President ; Mr. B. L. Rice, Director of Public Instruction, Mysore and Coorg, was Secretary ; and there were twenty other members including Sir Sayed Ahmed, Mr. A. M. Bose, Sir Alfred Croft, Sir William Lee Warner, Dr. Miller of Madras, Babu Bhudeb Mookerjee and Maharaja Sir Jotendro Mohan Tagore. The Commission first deliberated for some seven weeks in Calcutta. Then for eight months evidence was collected locally in the various provinces, and the President made a tour in order to hold sessions and examine witnesses. "A great enthusiasm," writes Mr. Sathianandhan, "was excited on the subject of education throughout the length and breadth of the country. At every place that was visited large meetings were held to welcome the Commission." Nearly two hundred witnesses were examined and over three hundred memorials were presented. Further deliberations followed in Calcutta from December, 1882, to March, 1883. Two hundred and twenty-two resolutions were passed, one hundred and eighty

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unanimously, the remainder by a majority. The report which was drawn up by a Committee of six extends to over six hundred folio pages.

The most far-reaching of the recommendations were those which concerned the withdrawal of Government from higher education. Something of this had been tentatively put forward in the Government Resolution appointing the Commission, as a subject for consideration. The Despatch of 1854 had introduced "grants-in-aid", because of "the impossibility of Government alone doing all that must be done" for the organisation of education in India. Grants-in-aid were intended to encourage self-help and foster "a spirit of reliance upon local exertions." Local management under Government inspection, stimulated by grants-in-aid, was to supplement and finally, perhaps, in large measure, to supersede direct management by Government. The aim of the Commission was to carry the transfer of direct management further. Their recommendations are carefully guarded, but the net result in the affirmation of gradual withdrawal was definitely the aim of Government policy. This is implied or hinted in various places; the explicit recommendation is "that all Directors of Public Instruction aim at the gradual transfer to local native management of Government schools of secondary instruction (including schools attached to first or second grade colleges) in every case in which the transfer can be effected without lowering the standard, or diminishing the supply of education and without endangering the permanence of the institution transferred." This explicit recommendation concerned only secondary schools, and it seemed to be carefully safeguarded by qualifying conditions. The practical result in the long run was the partial withdrawal of Government from the direct conduct of higher education; and conversely the imparting of a strong stimulus to the founding of schools and colleges by private enterprise. This was in fact the result deliberately and expressly aimed at. "We venture to hope," says the report in concluding on this subject, "that the line of action we have marked out in the above recommendations will result, not all at once, yet with no longer interval than is always required for changes fruitful of large results, in public sentiment taking a direction which will lead to the gradual and by and by to the rapid transfer to the bodies of native gentlemen of the institutions now maintained by Government." It all reads very plausibly in the pages of the report and a great deal is said of the need of caution that the highest educational interests should not suffer and of due care for the maintenance of high standards. The question is, was it really wise to put forward at that time such recommendations at all and were the salutary precautions enjoined successfully taken?

There were many minor recommendations, all having as their object "to improve and strengthen the position of aided schools" as the complement to the policy of Government withdrawal. One of them runs: "That in order to encourage the establishment of aided schools, the managers be not required to charge fees as high as those of a neighbouring Government school of the same class." This is for schools: there is a similar recommendation for colleges:—"That while it is desirable to affirm the principle that fees at the highest rate consistent with the undiminished spread of education should be levied in every college aided by the State, no

aided college should be required to levy fees at the same rate as that charged in a neighbouring Government college." On the surface perhaps these recommendations read very innocently. If they are attentively considered, it will be found that their natural effect must be to undermine the very possibility of sound education. The more carefully they are examined, the more plainly will it appear that they are largely, if not mainly, responsible for the state of University education which the reform movement of 1901 to 1906 set out to remedy, for could anything have been better calculated to promote the spread of inefficiency, to bring about what has actually resulted—the multiplication of schools and colleges insufficiently staffed, miserably equipped, utterly unfit to give useful education? The more directly injurious provision was the authorisation of low fees, which effectually secured that new schools and colleges founded by private enterprise should be of a weak and inefficient type. It is true that another rule proposed ran "that the Director of Public Instruction should, in consultation with the managers of schools receiving aid from Government, determine the scale of fees to be charged and the proportion of pupils to be exempted from payment therein." There was, however, opposition to the carrying out of this provision, and even in Madras, where it had been the practice for many years before the Commission, it was ultimately dropped. The second Quinquennial Review of the Progress of Education in India, written by Mr. Nash in 1893, makes this significant comment: "The reason for this change of system is not given in the reports, but probably it was due to the difficulty experienced by aided schools in competing with unaided schools in which lower fees could be charged: in some cases the managers of aided schools resigned the grants in order to be able to reduce the fees." It would be difficult within reasonable compass to bring out the full tale of evils—ill-paid and incompetent teachers, overcrowded class-rooms, bad buildings, poor school furniture—with which that one sentence is pregnant. The calamitous significance of what was happening is only grasped when it is considered that for many schools which came into existence under these influences the fees were almost the sole source of income. Common sense would have dictated a rule the very reverse of that enunciated by the Commission; that the private schools and colleges should be empowered to charge higher fees, not lower. The Government schools and colleges had other resources and did not depend on the fee fund for their proper up-keep. The private schools and colleges, on the other hand, were for the most part unendowed and, except in the case of Missionary institutions, had seldom any revenues other than those derived from fees. Fees were to them all-important; for they drew their whole support from them. To give as it were authoritative countenance to low fees was to ensure the inevitable and lasting insufficiency of the institutions. It remains only further for the careful historian to remark that some of the schools and colleges equipped and staffed on this promising basis have actually at times worked to private profit.

In another important division of education the express prescription of the Commission of 1882 has been discredited by experience. The Commission adopted for elementary schools the system of payment by results which at that time still ruled in Great Britain.

Their recommendation is : " That preference be given to that system which regulates the aid given mainly according to the results of examinations." This system, writes Mr. Orange in the last Quinquennial Review of Indian Education, " notorious by the name of payment by results is universally acknowledged to have been a failure wherever it has been introduced." The Commission of 1882 was not, then, infallible, and it is open to us to disagree with its findings, if we see reason to do so. Many of them were undoubtedly sound and judicious and have been absorbed into the educational system with beneficial results. Such were the rules and regulations limiting the removal of pupils from one school to another, now known as ' Transfer Rules ; ' their recommendations about Text Book Committees, Normal Schools, Educational Conferences, Departmental Codes of Rules and many other matters of educational interest, great and small. In some matters recommendations, in themselves excellent, have proved in advance of the times, in so far as they have remained up to the present a dead letter. Such are the suggestions of the formation of " a general educational library and museum at some suitable locality in each Province " and that " in the upper classes of high schools there be two divisions—one leading to the Entrance Examination of the Universities, the other of a more practical character, intended to fit youths for commercial and other non-literary pursuits." As regards the latter, heroic attempts have indeed been made to divert a branch stream from the main current of high school education, but up to the time of the last Quinquennial Review, " ninety-five per cent of the boys who pass through secondary schools follow the curricula prescribed by the Universities for the Matriculation Examination." The important recommendation that " as a general rule transfers of officers from Professorships of colleges to Inspectorships of schools, and *vice versa*, be not made " has been partially adopted through sheer force of circumstances, but has yet to receive the recognition of its importance as a fundamental principle requires. Very great stress was laid by the Commission on the moral side of education. In relation to every stage of education they call marked attention to its importance. Of Primary Schools they say : " That all inspecting officers and teachers be directed to see that all the teaching and discipline of every school are such as to exert a right influence on the manners and conduct and the character of the children. . . . " Similarly, of Secondary Schools, " That the importance of requiring inspecting officers to see that the teaching and discipline of every school are such as to exert a right influence on the manners, the conduct and the character of pupils, be re-affirmed." For colleges they recommended " Lectures on the duties of a man and a citizen," and a " moral text-book " The latter is still debated but on the whole a discredited proposal. The supreme importance of the education of character is taking a prominent place among the questions of the hour.

In the details of school management and of education organisation the Commission of 1892 is generally right. It is on the larger questions of policy that its conclusions are disputable. The largest of all has only so far been noticed by implication and this, the place of Primary Education in the educational scheme for India, is also the question which is again at the present time being

specially pressed for attention. The views of the Commission are clear and uncompromising. It is elementary education, indigenous or departmental, which has the first claim. The claims of higher education of State aid are only legitimate, when the requirements of popular education have been adequately met. They recommend specifically : "That primary education be declared to be that part of the whole system of Public Instruction which possesses an almost exclusive claim on local funds set apart for education and a large claim on provincial revenues." Again : "That while every branch of education can justly claim the fostering care of the State, it is desirable, in the present circumstances of the country, to declare the elementary education of the masses, in provision, extension and improvement, to be that part of the educational system to which the strenuous efforts of the State should now be directed in a still larger measure than heretofore." So conversely of secondary education : "That it be distinctly laid down that the relation of the State to secondary is different from its relation to primary education in that the means of primary education may be provided without regard to the existence of local co-operation, while it is ordinarily expedient to provide the means of secondary education only where adequate local co-operation is forthcoming, and that, therefore, in all ordinary cases, secondary schools for instruction in English be hereafter established by the State, preferably on the footing of the system of grants-in-aid." There is plausibility in this statement of principle and it has all the weight that the analogy of European countries can give it. Is it, however, the right principle for India, and is it practically applicable at the present time? These are momentous questions and a good deal of ground has still to be traversed in these papers before we are in a position to answer them with a clear perception of the issues. We require first to study the character and causes of university reform ; and then to make some independent survey of secondary and primary school education in India as each of these has been developed under the influence of the Despatch of 1854 and the Commission of 1882.

IX.—UNIVERSITY REFORM (1901-1906)

The causal connection suggested in the course of the review of the recommendations of the Commission of 1882 is this. The affirmation by Government of a policy of "gradual withdrawal" from higher education, coupled with a virtual approbation of low fees, led to a rapid expansion of university education between 1882 and 1890 ; but this rapid expansion involved a disastrous sacrifice of the essential conditions of sound education. Statistics are notoriously fallacious and figures, it is known, obey the powerful spells of those who charm with them ; but here the figures, as they stand recorded in university tables and in successive reviews of educational progress, are so plain and straightforward that mistake of their meaning is hardly conceivable. There are complicating circumstances, it is true, if one analyses the figures searchingly, but broadly there was extraordinary expansion in the years immediately following 1882. For schools the most striking comparisons are those of the first five years. For 1881-2 the total number of pupils in secondary English schools is given in the first general review of

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education in India as 149,233. For 1884-5 the total is 254,802, an increase of over 100,000 in three years; for 1886-7 it is 271,654, an increase of 120,000 in five years. By 1891-2 the figures of 1881-2 are just doubled, standing at slightly over three hundred thousand. Numbers have advanced steadily since but never at a rate so rapid. At the end of the next ten years the total is 422,187; and the latest tables available, those for 1906-7, give 473,130. These figures are not, however, exactly apposite to the present inquiry, since owing to a principle of classification adopted in 1883, Middle English Schools are included along with High Schools in the totals recorded. Our direct concern is now with High Schools only. The estimate of the Commission of 1882 for pupils in High Schools is 65,448 and the total for 1901 is given in the last general review as 231,626, but for the intervening years the figures are not recorded. The statistics of matriculation afford an accurate measure for present purposes. For Bengal the Entrance Examination certainly indicates roughly the advance of High School as well as of collegiate education. All the higher secondary schools that came into being were of one type. All aspired to send up candidates to the Entrance Examination. Most had (and have except for a compulsory limit now) congested Entrance classes. Again there is a roughly (very roughly) constant proportion between the number of candidates at the Entrance Examination and the number actually matriculated; and again a roughly constant variation between the number of matriculates and the number of candidates at the degree examination. Thus the matriculation examination affords a fairly accurate measure, at all events in Bengal, of the extension of higher education. Adopting this as a rough measure generally, we see that in 1882 the total of candidates for matriculation in the three universities then existing was 7,429. In 1885-6 the total for India is 13,093, nearly double in four years and in 1889 it is 19,138. The further increase to 1906 is only five thousand, making a total of 24,963. Looking separately to Bengal—and it is with Bengal that university reform is connected in its causes and inception as well as the beginning of universities—we find that in 1872 the number of candidates at the Entrance Examination had been just over 2,000 (2,144). In 1882 it was just over 3,000. In 1885 it was 4,317. In 1888 it was 6,134, more than doubling the 3,000 of 1882. The total only once exceeded this maximum between 1888 and 1900, namely in the year 1900 itself with the 6,309; but it never went below 5,000. From 1902 on, the number was always over 7,000, till in 1907 it fell to 5,290.

Now, if the Matriculation Examination of the Calcutta University had been a satisfactory test as a school-leaving examination, and if the education of the colleges had been sound and good, this wonderful expansion between 1882 and 1888—these are the significant dates—could only have been cause for rejoicing. Naturally it seemed such to those who lived through those exhilarating years and who did not scrupulously assay the value of the results attained. Address after address at Convocation vibrates with subdued elation, though now and again, it is true, the attentive listener catches an undertone of misgiving. Anyone who wishes to enter vividly into the feelings of that time and to obtain a graphic view of the forces at work in the Calcutta University, of what was admirable in it as well as what was of hurtful tendency,

cannot do better than read Sir Courtney Ilbert's widely ranging and exceedingly instructive address of December the 19th, 1885. An important series of changes in the arrangements for the Arts Examination had just been brought to completion. Numbers still showed a marked and rapid increase. The dominant tone is one of satisfaction and congratulation. Of the revised courses, he says: "As far as I can judge, they appear to me to be entirely in the right direction. . . . Their tendency is towards greater specialisation and concentration at the later stages of the university course, and thus towards more exact and thorough knowledge of the subjects which the student applies himself to master." He is able to say of the Honours men of the university that "not only is the number of graduates in Honours steadily increasing, but the highest standard which they attain is steadily rising." There is only one sentence in the speech which suggests another side to the picture but that sentence is significant. "As collegiate education has become more common," says the speaker, "the value of the symbol which denotes it has proportionately fallen." It is not, however, till 1889 that we definitely hear of over-production as a criticism to be met when Lord Lansdowne as Chancellor said: "I am afraid that we must not disguise from ourselves that if our schools and colleges continue to educate the youth of India at the present rate, we are likely to hear even more than we do at present of the complaint than we are turning out every year an increasing number of young men whom we have provided with an intellectual equipment, admirable in itself, but practically useless to them, on account of the small number of openings which the professions afford for gentlemen who have received this kind of education." But in these public utterances the voice of criticism is in these years almost wholly silent. We must look elsewhere for strict scrutiny of the intrinsic value of what was outwardly such a triumphant progress. Nor do we look for it vainly. For there were always some among educational workers who looked more carefully into the education which was being so rapidly extended and raised their voices against uncritical satisfaction. As early even as 1860 two leading educationists in the North-West Provinces, Mr. Reid, Director of Public Instruction and Mr. Kempson, Principal of the Bareilly College, warned the university of the dangers of a too ambitious course of studies and of education lacking accuracy and depth. It is not, however, from direct and express criticism that we get the illuminating flashes which enable in retrospect the sharpened vision of the enquirer to discern how the way was surely prepared for a catastrophe of some kind, but in things incidentally written in relation to some question of the hour without any directly critical intention. For instance, in 1871, the head of a Calcutta college, writing *apropos* of certain wide proposals from the North-West Provinces said: "From what I know of University students I should hardly regard the knowledge of English possessed by those who pass in the *second* class at the First Arts Examination as sufficient; and certainly I should hold the knowledge of a student who passed in the third class to be insufficient." In 1870, out of 520 candidates for this examination 28 passed in the first division, 108 in the second, and 97 in the third. In the same series of opinions another correspondent laments that under the

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existing system a class of men who might be called "mere machines of memory" was multiplying very fast. "Education," he says, "has too long been viewed in Bengal as the cramming in a large amount of ill-digested knowledge—memory has been cultivated to the exclusion of the higher faculties; and a class of students has been produced who, whatever crammed book-knowledge they possess, have, with a few notable exceptions neither original ideas nor the power of observing or judging for themselves." This, be it carefully noted, was before the great expansion between 1882 and 1888 and, be it further observed, that between 1871 and 1900 nothing whatever was done to improve the standard of English which was absolutely vital to a system of education deliberately and avowedly carried on in English.

X.—UNIVERSITY REFORM (1901-1906)

The extreme importance of the sufficiency of the standard of English at the Entrance Examination does not, indeed, seem to have been adequately realised either in the early years of the University or in the years of growing prosperity following on the Commission of 1882. In 1886 and 1887 a Committee was engaged in considering the Calcutta Entrance Examination. Opinions were sought on all sides from heads of colleges and others. It is a remarkable fact that though the questions of standard were warmly canvassed, scarcely a single voice was raised on behalf of an adequate standard in English. Most of the opinions are mere verbiage. One letter there is, however, which is remarkable as going to the root of the matter and laying bare one of the causes which ultimately made some reform of the system necessary. "I am sorry," says the writer, "to find that beyond the proposal. . . not a single modification has been introduced tending to remedy the so universally recognised evil, *viz*, that the University examinations, and perhaps more particularly the Entrance Examination, favour memory-work more than is desirable, and that cram is sufficient to secure a pass. Any one acquainted with the practical work of preparing Indian students for these examinations must confess in all fairness that degrees are at a low ebb." A curious commentary is this on the Vice-Chancellor's address at the end of 1885, but it is the commentary of the teacher actually engaged upon the work and knowing it. He adds a little later: "Without anything like a complete course of general education, any candidate gifted with a good memory is sure to carry off his Entrance certificate. And this is mainly to be ascribed to the appointment of text-books in every subject, containing all that a student is expected to answer at the examination."

Perhaps, however, the most significant clue is that unconsciously afforded by a naive sentence in the Convocation address of 1883. Speaking of the success of the first two lady graduates the Vice-Chancellor said that they had really done better than their places in the list showed. "I heard," he says, "from one of the examiners that though their answers in his subject were not framed so as to secure the highest number of marks, the papers showed an originality, a thoroughness, and a real comprehension of the subject, which gave him a high opinion of the intellectual power of the writers." Examinations which did not secure the highest marks to

intellectual power, to originality, thoroughness and a real comprehension of the subject ! A horde of candidates securing highest marks by memorising text-books out of a ludicrously deficient knowledge of English ! In these things surely there was a good deal for which a remedy had to be found.

How vital the question of the standard of English, at the gates of the university really is, is at once manifest on steadily facing the fact that all the studies of the university were and are to be carried on through English. A student who does not start with a competent knowledge of English has obviously no chance of getting on even terms with his studies. He is heavily handicapped from the beginning, and, unless he goes to school again and learns English, the handicap is never likely to be taken off, even if by good or bad luck he ultimately obtains a degree. In this vital matter nothing was done to raise the standard ; some things were done to lower the standard ; and always there was a steady pressure from the weaker schools and colleges, from year to year increasing in number under the influence of the plausible doctrines of the Commission of 1882, tending to lower standards. Is it wonderful that between 1890 and 1900 dissatisfaction grew every where though it did not very often voice itself in public ; or that in 1894 a writer in the *Calcutta Review*, who found the remedy in a gradual raising of the standard in the Entrance Examination and the maintenance by Government of schools of a higher type, said openly : " We are spreading English education through the length and breadth of these lands on a system which it is scarcely too harsh to call rotten " ? When university reform came in strong flood in the year 1901, it did not come too soon.

It is too soon yet to judge in just perspective the reform movement of the years which follow between 1901 and 1906. It is of profound interest to all concerned with university work in India and when its history comes to be fully written that interest will not be diminished. The central fact is that it was (like the inception of English education) a movement from within, not from without ; and that Englishmen and Indians co-operated in the task. The reform movement is associated with Lord Curzon's administration and with Lord Curzon's name, and as he bore unmerited obloquy on account of it, to him also must be assigned a large share of the praise, if ever praise is awarded. But for Lord Curzon's known interest in education and his strong personality it would not have come at that time ; but that it came at all is most of all due to the persistence from 1860 onwards here and there of a few educational workers who had more care for the reality of education than for the shows, and who had the true interests of student and universities at heart. Earlier attempts at initiating a reform movement there had been about the year 1895, but they never got beyond the stage of draft proposals. The sequence of events in the actual inception of reform was this. On February the 16th, 1901, after Lord Curzon had referred in carefully-guarded language to his intentions in regard to the university, the Vice-Chancellor said : " For the first time the Chancellor asks the university to consider the possibility of constitutional reform." In March a strong representation of the need for enquiry and action was made by a number of professors and heads of colleges. In September a conference was held at Simla

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which made a preliminary survey of the whole educational field. In January 1902 the Indian Universities Commission was appointed. Their enquiries continued through February, March, and April. Their report was published in June.

University reform was initiated, as we have seen, in Bengal and was directed by its initiator to the circumstances of Calcutta University. It was a debatable point whether the other universities needed reform for analogous reasons. The Commission came to the conclusion that they did and recommended reform on similar lines in respect of constitution, examinations, courses of study, standards, social life. Two of the most salient recommendations were (1) that the Syndicate of each University should fix a minimum fee rate; (2) that so-called second-grade colleges should in process of time be eliminated. The publication of the report called forth an outburst of criticism. These two provisions, though educationally very weighty reasons can be given for their expediency, were assailed with special vehemence. Government gave way to the popular outcry on these two points and announced their omission from the scheme of reform.

On these bases an Act to amend the law relating to the Universities of British India was introduced in 1904, and warmly debated in the Legislative Council. It received the assent of the Governor-General on the 24th of March and took effect on 1st of September, 1904. Then began a new phase of university history. New Senates and Syndicates came into office, appointed on the principle "that educational standards should be allowed a predominant influence" in the administration of a university; and set about the framing of a revised body of regulations. These, as finally approved by the Government of India for the University of Calcutta, came into operation in July 1906.

It is too early, as I have said, to judge confidently of the efficacy of the new constitutions or the new regulations. Lord Curzon claimed for his reforms—which in his view and intention embraced a much wider range than university education—that "out of them has been born a new life for higher education in India." This is certainly true. A definite impetus has been given to the improvement of both colleges and high schools under pressure of the new regulations; more money, much more money, is being spent on them. There is improvement in buildings, in staff, in equipment. There has been a real quickening of energies in all directions. The most conspicuous improvements in Bengal colleges have been two: (1) There has been a most marked improvement in the equipment and methods of science teaching. This is the greatest change of all and amounts to no less than a revolution, a revolution pregnant with potentialities for the material progress of the country. (2) There has been a liberal strengthening of staffs, Government having voluntarily set the example in its own colleges; but everywhere pressure has been exerted by the Syndicate to induce colleges to raise their staffs in accordance with more exigent views of the requirements of efficient teaching. Unless the conditions laid down are conformed with, affiliation is refused; and this applies equally when the college asking affiliation is a Government college. The Syndicate has thus an effective control. There are very important successes; and there are several more points on which there is assured ground for congratulation.

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If we review this whole history of the reform movement fairly, we are bound to admit that the effort for reform was, in Bengal at all events, thoroughly justified ; that Government policy has been sound in regard to it, erring, if anywhere, on the side of caution. We have good reason to hope that the education being given in the colleges this year is in important respects better than the education which was being given in 1905. Lord Curzon was justified in contending that this was a deliverance, a deliverance of true education from impediments and encumbrances. "It is," he said at Simla, in 1905, shortly before leaving India, "the setting free of the service of education, by placing in authoritative control over education the best intellects and agencies that can be enlisted in the task, and it is the casting away of the miserable gyves and manacles that had been fastened on the limbs of the youths of India, stunting their growth, crippling their faculties and tying them down." Such certainly is the aim, whether it is yet quite attained or not ; and therefore Lord Curzon was justified in adding : "In my view we are entitled to the hearty co-operation of all patriotic Indians in the task, for it is their people we are working for and their future we are trying to safeguard and enlarge."

XI.—HIGH ENGLISH SCHOOLS

Real and substantial as have been the improvements effected already by university reform, there are one or two measures of importance which have quite definitely not been attempted, or not effected sufficiently. One is such a raising of fees as would at once hinder overcrowding in colleges and place the unendowed colleges on a better economic basis. Another, and that the most vital of all, is the raising of the standard of English at matriculation to the level of efficiency required by the nature of university studies. An improvement of standard, it may be hoped, has really been effected : there is reason to fear it is not yet adequate to the end in view, though the attainment of this end is an indispensable condition of sound work. Now the learning of English is the proper task not of the colleges, but of the schools. What of the high English schools and the education they are giving ? Sound university education is unattainable without the improvement of high school education. That has been frankly recognised in the measures of reform already carried out. All the universities now definitely assume responsibility for the character of the schools allowed to send up candidates for matriculation. There are by the regulations "conditions of recognition" and the conditions are to be made real by effective inspection. All high schools alike are brought under this new control, Government and non-Government, aided and unaided. A great deal of attention has been given to the subject of high English schools since the new regulations came into force. The third Chapter in the last *Quinquennial Review* of educational progress is most illuminating on the whole subject. "There is," says Mr. Orange, "every indication that universities and departments are carrying out in earnest the powers and duties entrusted to them in respect of secondary schools seeking the privilege of University recognition." That was three years ago and the work has gone on steadily since. Conditions, as might be expected, vary greatly in the different provinces of India, but the

conclusion of any general review of the schools in relation to the universities must be that the whole subject of high school education still demands unslackening attention. The two most general defects appear to be (1) poorly qualified teachers, (2) bad teaching of English ; two points of vital import for collegiate education. Of the masters in high schools, Mr. Orange writes : "Speaking generally it may be said that the qualifications and the pay of teachers in secondary schools are below any standard that could be thought reasonable ; and that the enquiries which are now being made into the subject have revealed a state of things that is scandalous in Bengal and Eastern Bengal, and is unsatisfactory in every province." As to teaching, while method in most subjects leaves much to be desired, in more than one province English is singled out as the subject worst taught. High school education is best in Bombay ; taken in the lump it is worst in the sphere of the Calcutta University. Good schools there are in Bengal and Eastern Bengal as well as in all other parts of India : it is the great number of weak and ill-equipped schools in certain provinces which makes the problem of raising all to a satisfactory standard of efficiency so difficult. But whatever the defects in teaching, discipline, buildings, equipment in Bengal and Eastern Bengal, or anywhere in India, the feature most deserving of notice at the present time is improvement. A genuine impetus towards improvement is visible everywhere, due to the heightened interest in education that has been general since 1901, and in a more special sense to the impulse of university reform. The signs are hopeful, provided the impetus is not allowed to be down, but is reinforced by further efforts, public and private.

Looking back to find the causes of the present unsatisfactory state of secondary education, there can be little doubt that the close subordination of high school education to a University Entrance Examination, however natural and convenient it may have been in the beginning, and is even now, has in the long run proved injurious to the best interest of education. It has in the first place established a false standard for schools and a wrong aim. School education should educate for life and should be circumscribed by no narrower aim. It should give an education relatively complete in itself. The further education of the university is necessarily for a limited number, not for all. To contract the education of all to the pattern of a preparatory course for university studies, and especially of university studies so peculiarly conditioned as they are in India, was to cripple school education. Next, it has tended to limit schools to one type, whereas other types of schools have been wanted. In particular there has been need of better secondary schools with aims less scholastically ambitious and more practical than those of the high school working up to a university standard. A factor which has swayed disastrously here is the overweening ambition which has been so common an influence in the history of educational institutions in Bengal, each aiming at climbing out of its own class into the class next above it. Schools have seldom been content to moderate their ambitions by their resources, to rest satisfied in doing quiet work in a well-defined but limited sphere. The middle vernacular school aspires to be middle English and the middle English to be a high school. High schools have schemed to be raised into second grade colleges, and the second grade

college with better reason aspires to be first grade. This ambition, which in itself is sufficiently laudable, has, when unaccompanied by any proper sense of scale in education, proved harmful, by inciting the promoters of these institutions to press for the supposed higher status without any due regard to the standard of equipment and provision which the higher status requires. The resulting tendency has been to lower standards and produce general weakness. The saving truth that a good middle school is better than a bad high school and a good school immeasurably better than a weak and poorly equipped college has been wholly lost sight of. It has never been sufficiently realised how fundamental is the question of expense. The provision of schools of a higher standard entails expense according to an irreducible scale, the incidence of which can by no jugglery be avoided. If you want that kind of education, you *must* incur the expense. You can only cheapen the expense by lowering the quality and then you do not get the education you want at all, but a spurious imitation. This is a simple principle, absolutely fundamental, absolutely impossible of evasion. The refusal to admit these simple truths is the cause of the unsatisfactory nature of so much of the education given.

Every grade of school has its proper work to do, and in doing it fills a useful place in the system as a whole. Well-organised high schools, the immediate subject here, are of special importance, in relation to the highest form of education, because the success of college education is based necessarily on the quality of high school education. Unless the education of the high schools is sound, college education cannot be sound. The neglect of this vital perception is what even now hampers the improvement of college education. Something has been done as was shown at the beginning of this paper. Much more remains to be done and can only be neglected at the risk of losing again the ground that has been gained by university reform. There is need of a fresh intuition, the intuition that the school is not less important than the college, but even more important. Indeed the mistake of the past in its ultimate expression is that the cardinal and incomparable value of school education has not been sufficiently realised. There can be no doubt now that serious harm has been done by the systematic subordination of the school to the college. The college has been magnified; the school has been depressed. But it is not true, that a college is higher educationally than a school. On the contrary there are valid reasons why the school as an institution for education is more important than the college. In Great Britain the school has an easy primacy, and the special pride of England is her Public Schools rather than her Universities. The gift seemingly most easy within her power to give, a noble school education, England has not yet given to India. It is a pity it should be so. The names of English schools are world-famous. Who even in India has heard the name of any great Indian school? If names great in the field of education are thought of in England, it is the names of great school-masters that are thought of first—Colet, Mulcaster, Busby, Arnold, Thring, Riddell, Almond. Why are there no similar names in India? Why would it seem strange to speak even of "a great school-master?" And yet when Sir Alexander Arbuthnot, who later was twice Vice-Chancellor of Calcutta University, was addressing Convocation in Madras in 1868 he singled

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out as the man to be named first for greatness of character in the nineteenth century not any statesman or soldier or man of letters, but Dr. Thomas Arnold of Rugby. We need in India to think more worthily of schools and schoolmasters. The great present hope for higher education lies in such a raising of high schools in tone, in organisation, in equipment as would not only set university education on sound foundations but would also make the schools themselves a real training-ground for life. This is not a fantastic or problematic undertaking, but something definitely attainable at no long-distant time. Several causes combine to make the present time propitious and the outlook hopeful. First, there are the influences of university reform, what has already been achieved, and what is in process of achievement. Secondly, there is the influence of training colleges.

The Resolution of 1887 pressed strongly the need of more serious attention to the training of teachers. "No money," it said, "is better spent than that allotted to the support of efficient training schools and colleges for teachers, and money is not well spent if granted to schools presided over by untrained and incompetent teachers, in which discipline and moral training are relegated to a secondary place. The Governor-General in Council is of opinion that in the truest interests of education the cost of providing thoroughly good training schools and colleges for teachers of English as well as of vernacular schools should be regarded as a first charge in the educational grant and that any province which is now unprovided with institutions suitable for the effectual training of the various classes of teachers required should take measures by retrenchment, if necessary, to establish the requisite training institutions." The Commission of 1882 had been content to record the fact that in Madras alone was there a separate training college for English teachers. The last few years have seen a great change, and, finally, Bengal and Eastern Bengal, following the example of Bombay, have founded colleges in which training for high school work is being carried on with strenuous purpose. If the training colleges are animated with right spirit, they will send out year by year to high schools throughout the two provinces teachers inspired with high ideals, instructed in the practice of methods capable of revolutionizing the whole system of secondary education. Not least of these is a method of teaching English which has life in it and a potential development of which the full measure has not yet been taken. This is the third great ground of hopefulness. The method of teaching English has been so unspeakably bad in the past that the assured hope of better methods excites the most lively anticipation of an improvement in the acquisition of English out of all proportion to anything hitherto experienced. Such better methods there are, capable of making the acquisition of English a living, not a dead, process, whether they are called by a technical name, or regarded as merely a commonsense development of methods in use from the beginning of language learning. There is a consensus of evidence that, whatever it has been tried, the Direct Method produces results that may fairly be called astonishing, giving in two or three years a practical and real command of English, which is not usually acquired in twice as many years of laborious study with grammars and text-books only. If all those favouring circumstances are now

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taken advantage of, there is assured expectation of a surprising improvement in Matriculation English in five or six years' time. The ultimate increase of efficiency might be estimated at two or three hundred per cent : the labour-saving and time-saving might be reckoned in years. For the fulfilment of these hopes what is required is that the effort for the improvement of high school education should not be slackened. Fresh effort must be put forth. The completion of the reform movement of 1901-1906 requires a more thorough sifting and a stronger subvention of high schools than any that has so far been undertaken. High education can only be securely built up in the college when year by year the foundations are better laid in the schools.

XII.—MORAL AND RELIGIOUS EDUCATION

The critics of State education in India are never weary of pointing out that its fatal defect is the absence of any moral and religious basis. Among those who say this are many whose attitude to educational effort in India is unquestionably friendly. Thus the *Times*' correspondent, though guarded and moderate in finding fault, speaks of "the careless diffusion of an artificial system of education, based none too firmly on mere intellectualism, and bereft of all moral and religious sanction." Mr. S. M. Mitra, another discerning critic of its weak points, says :—"Knowledge has been pursued without any regard for training in the moral virtues or in the development of character." Now these and all similar criticisms, friendly or otherwise, must be admitted to have this much justification that all of us are agreed that the strengthening of character is the most important side of education, and that as yet we are far from satisfied with the degree of certainty we can feel that the education being given in India is effective in shaping character rightly. Yet these criticisms, like all the wise things that have been said about the moral and religious side of education since education was spoken of at all in India, remain mere words, until it has been shown practically how effect is to be given to this desire to give education in India a stronger moral foundation. For, in point of fact, admirable things have been reiterated about the importance of this side of education since quite the early days. Even when Charles Grant in 1797, before ever there was any State education at all, put forward his scheme for spreading the light of knowledge through India by means of English, the aim which he put first was moral improvement on the most comprehensive scale. "We now proceed," he writes, "to the main object of this work—for the sake of which all the preceding topics and discussions have been brought forward—an inquiry into the means of remedying disorders which have become inveterate in the state of society among our Asiatic subjects, which destroy their happiness and obstruct every species of improvement among them." He lays stress in particular on the effects of seeing "a pure, complete, and perfect system of morals and of duty enforced by the most awful sanctions and recommended by the most interesting motives." Moral improvement is equally suggested by Lord Minto in 1811 as a reason for the restoration of Oriental learning. "Little doubt can be entertained," says the resolution, "that the prevalence of the crimes of perjury and forgery so frequently noticed in the official records,

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is in great measure ascribable, both in Mahomedans and Hindus, to the want of instruction in the moral and religious tenets of their respective faiths. It has been even suggested, and apparently not without foundation, that to this uncultivated state of the minds of the natives is in a great degree to be ascribed the prevalence of those crimes which were recently a scourge to the country."

The primary object of the foundation of the Hindu College was no doubt to impart knowledge, the new knowledge of the West, which gave to Western nations their extraordinary superiority in the practical concerns of life. But David Hare was one of its first founders and his connection with the college was undoubtedly moral in its nature. The close personal influence of such a man while he lived (he died in 1842) could not be without its effects. Indeed its effects are living and visible to the present day in that cult of his memory which leads Hindus, alien in race and religion, to meet together on the anniversary of his death to do honour to his virtues and keep green the remembrance of his benefactions. Gratitude is a moral quality, and in this instance it has survived death.

No doubt also Macaulay's enthusiasm is for "intellectual improvement," and his faith is that the way of improvement lies through the learning of English and the study of European literature. But it would be unfair to suppose that this zeal for pure knowledge and the impetus to educational effort which followed it are divorced from moral ideas. They were, on the contrary, inspired by an essentially moral idea, the idea of a general elevation in civilisation. All that may fairly be said in criticism of Macaulay's standpoint is that it was too easily assumed that more accurate knowledge would necessarily bring with it moral improvement and happiness. Yet there was definite moral instruction in Government institutions under the auspices of the General Committee after 1840. In that year Mr. Cameron, a member of the committee in that year, and its President from 1842 to 1847, wrote in a Minute on the importance of moral training: "In most countries morality is taught as part of religion. Here we are prevented by the circumstances of the country from teaching morality in that manner. It is therefore, more incumbent than upon other ministries of public instruction, to teach morality in the form of Moral Philosophy." In 1851 Mr. J. F. Thomas, one of the members of the Madras Council of Education, in a Minute criticising sharply on many points of the existing system, drew special attention to the very want of effective moral education which is fastened upon to-day. "Education without moral culture," he wrote, "is probably as often injurious as beneficial to society; and at all event a system like that at present in force, which to a great degree overlooks this point, and which makes little or no provision for this most essential part of education, is so radically defective that I feel satisfied that although it may be upheld for a time under special and peculiar circumstances, it must in the end fail, and I hold that unless it can be shown that the people of this Presidency are opposed to receiving moral instruction, combined with intellectual, there is no ground for this palpable practical Commission in the existing system."

There is no paragraph of the Despatch of 1854 directly bearing on the subject of moral education, but an earlier letter is quoted in support of the encouragement of education as calculated "not

only to produce a higher degree of intellectual fitness, but to raise the moral character of those who partake of its advantages ;" and a valuable testimony is later given to the actual efficacy of education in producing such effects. The Directors say : " We are sanguine enough to believe that some effect has already been produced by the improved education of the public service in India. The ability and integrity of a large and increasing number of the native judges, to whom the greater part of the civil jurisdiction in India is now committed, and the high estimation in which many among them are held by their fellow-countrymen is, in our opinion, much to be attributed to the progress of education among these officers and to their adoption along with it of that high moral tone which pervades the general literature of Europe."

The preamble to the Act constituting the universities in January, 1857, says nothing of moral education. The model of the Universities of Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay was the London University, their declared aim was the test of proficiency in study and the affiliated colleges were non-residential. The method of education in the colleges, however, was what it had been before the establishment of universities, and what had been said in 1851 about moral education by the first historian of education in Bengal, Mr. J. Kerr, held good : " Whatever enlarges the mind or refines the taste, tends to improve character. All the studies of our colleges have thus, in a greater or less degree, the effect that is aimed at in a systematic treatise on moral science. If our students remain stunted in moral growth, it is not for want of instruction, which is imparted largely and in most attractive and impressive forms."

The Education Commission of 1882 devoted separate sections to moral and religious training. Their preliminary remarks on the former settle once for all the limits of discussion : " The subject of moral training in colleges is replete with difficulties—difficulties, however, that are mainly practical. For there is no difference of opinion as to moral training being as necessary as intellectual or physical training, and no dissent from the principle that a system in which moral training was wholly neglected would be unworthy of the name of education. Nor, again, is there any difference of opinion as to the moral value of the love of law and order, of the respect for superiors, of the obedience, regularity, and attendance to duty which every well-conducted college is calculated to promote. All these have, by the nearly universal consent of the witnesses, done a great deal to elevate the moral tone and improve the daily practice of the great bulk of those who have been trained in the colleges of India. The degree in which different colleges have exerted a moral influence of this kind is probably as various as the degree of success that has attended the intellectual training given in them and has doubtless been different in all colleges at different times, depending as it does on the character and personal influence of the Principal and Professors who may form the staff at any given period. So far all the witnesses, and probably all intelligent men, are substantially agreed. Difficulties begin when the question is raised whether good can be done by distinct moral teaching over and above the moral supervision which all admit to be good and useful, and which all desire to see made more thorough than it is at present." After a careful review of the conflicting

opinions and practice, the Commission made two recommendations on the subject of direct moral instruction : (1) that an attempt be made to prepare a moral text-book based upon the fundamental principles of natural religion, such as may be taught in all Government and non-Government Colleges. (2) That the Principal or one of the Professors in each Government or Aided College deliver to each of the College classes in every session a series of lectures on the duties of a man and a citizen.

These recommendations did not win the acceptance either of the Local or of the Supreme Government and have remained a dead letter. Some arguments used by the Commission in their report go far to remove any regret that might be felt on this account. They say : " In all colleges and under all courses of instruction the most effective moral training consists in inculcating habits of order, diligence, truthfulness, and due self-respect combined with submission to authority, all which lessons a good teacher finds useful opportunities of imparting. The formation of such habits is promoted by the study of the lives and actions of great men, such as the student finds in the course of his English reading ; and it may be hoped, by the silent influence upon his character of constant intercourse with teachers, whom he is able to regard with respect and affection. Nor, again, is there reason to believe that collegiate education of the present type has any injurious effect upon the life and character of students. On the contrary, the nearly unanimous testimony of those who have had the best opportunities of observing, goes to show that in integrity, in self-respect, in stability of purpose, and generally, in those solid qualities which constitute an honourable and useful character, the University graduate is generally superior to those who have not enjoyed the advantages which college training confers."

As regards direct religious teaching the Commission of 1882 report with no uncertain voice its impracticability. Government institutions cannot undertake such teaching owing to Government's declared policy of religious neutrality. They weigh carefully the complaints that have been made of the demoralising influence of the exclusion of religion. They consider the remedy proposed that Government "should employ teachers of all prevalent forms of religion to give instruction in its colleges, or should at least give such teachers admission to its colleges if their services are provided by outside bodies." They conclude : " We are unable to recommend any plan of this kind." However praiseworthy the feelings that underlie such a proposal, "we are satisfied that no such scheme can be reduced to practice in the present state of Indian society."

It cannot be said that the subject of moral education has been neglected. If anything is wanting it is supplied by a resolution of the Government of India in 1887 directed wholly to enforcing the necessity of careful attention to school and college discipline. " The question of discipline in schools and colleges," it premises, " does not seem to have hitherto received any comprehensive consideration apart from the discussion of the subject by the Education Commission ;" and it acknowledges that " the growth of tendencies unfavourable to discipline and favourable to irreverence has accompanied the general extension of education." It advocates the firm maintenance of discipline in Indian schools

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and colleges, based on the standard recognised in the highest schools and colleges in England which nowadays does not err on the side of severity. It then deals at length with the problem of discipline in schools, discerningly pointing out that, if right habits of discipline are formed in schools, the problem of collegiate discipline is materially simplified. Among the suggestions for schools are the introduction of the monitorial system, the building of boarding-houses, well-defined rules ; and the value of training for teachers is especially insisted on. For colleges the suggestions are of weekly college meetings and recognised disciplinary powers (fines, suspension, rustication, expulsion) for both Principals and Professors. The value of encouragement of physical exercise is emphasised and teaching having a direct bearing upon conduct is recommended. The resolution concludes with an emphatic affirmation of the importance of the subject : " In conclusion, I am to commend the whole subject to early and careful attention, for the importance of the considerations thus brought to notice cannot be exaggerated. The true interests of education are bound up with the solution of the problems now touched upon."

It would appear from all this that the importance of the moral side of education has by no means been overlooked in the sixty years that have passed since the despatch of 1854 formally adopted English education. If the success achieved still leaves very much to be wished for, the cause must be something different from mere inattention and neglect. It seems possible that it is rather to be found in the inherent difficulty of the task undertaken than in remissness on the part of those who have undertaken it. A more special consideration of this possibility must now be reserved for another paper.

XIII.--MORAL AND RELIGIOUS EDUCATION

(Continued)

If, as we have seen there has been a steadily deepening sense of responsibility for the moral side of education in the policy of the Government of India, as evidenced by authoritative documents, a yet well-meant criticism continues to show that we have little ground to congratulate ourselves on the success achieved, the cause of failure must be sought elsewhere than in want of attention to the subject. A suspicion may take shape that the impediment lies in the nature of the task attempted. The education of character which is presumably what is meant by moral education is nothing very deep-lying, and depends on a number of factors of which school life is only one. Now, it is not very difficult to put together a number of common-places on the importance of moral education. It may in some circumstances be exceedingly difficult to turn precept into practice. The thing to be done is so to train boys that they may grow up to be manly, truth-loving, courageous, law-abiding, with just notions of self-respect and of what is due to others. It is by no means easy anywhere to bring this to pass through the daily routine work of school and college, and in India there are hindrances of a very baffling nature. In any case the burden is laid upon the professed teacher in school and college. He it is who must bear the responsibility and do the work, if it can be done. It may be well then to listen to the com-

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ments of one whose profession is education on the last and most pointed Government utterance on the subject, the very judicious circular of 1887 :

"I would respectfully beg leave to say a word or two with respect to the causal connection assumed in the letter of the Government of India to exist between the education imparted in our schools and colleges and 'the growth of tendencies unfavourable to discipline and favourable to irreverence in the rising generation.' No one could be more sensible than I am of the imperfections of our educational system, but I cannot believe that schools and colleges have been largely instrumental in bringing about the state of things complained of. I consider on the contrary that we teachers have cause to complain that the tone of our schools has been prejudicially affected by the tendencies unfavourable to authority invading them from without . . . Indian society is breathing the same social and political atmosphere as all other civilized communities—an atmosphere which happens at present to be efficient in reverence for authority and in willingness to submit to it. Are the seeds of these tendencies sown in our schools and colleges and fostered and made to fructify there? I think not. Beyond what naturally follows from that emancipation of thought which is one of the first-fruits of a liberal education everywhere, I do not believe that the system of education pursued in India has had any hand in fostering 'the growth of tendencies unfavourable to discipline and favourable to irreverence.' My contentions that these tendencies belong to the world that lies outside our schools and colleges, that they colour the thoughts and feelings and aspirations of the grown-up generation, and that from this outside world they invade our schools and infect our pupils—these contentions are borne out by the two following considerations : First, that it was not till after the political and racial excitement of recent years had spread throughout India that the youth attending schools and colleges showed signs of turbulence and insubordination ; and second, that these tendencies were practically confined to those provinces in the north of India where political and racial feelings were most bitter. In the Madras Presidency, where the feelings never ran very high, our educational institutions have hitherto enjoyed an almost absolute immunity from such disturbances ; and to the honour of the students of this college, be it said, there has not, during the eighteen years I have been connected with them, been any other disposition manifested than that of cheerful and loyal obedience to the rules of the institution."

This commentary shows the whole question of the relation of the political and educational movements in a new aspect. Is it possible that cause and effect are being confused, when education is blamed and that it is not the educational system which has produced political disaffection towards the existing order, otherwise generated, has first produced its effects in society at large, then invaded and injuriously affected the educational system. The relations of cause and effect are in a complicated material hard to disentangle and where interaction is a necessary factor in the problem mistake as to the ultimate causation is easily made. But the question here is not of the causes of 'unrest' but of the means of improving the moral influence of education. The writer of the memorandum from which the above quotation is made was Dr.

Duncan, at the time Principal of the Presidency College, Madras, and afterwards for many years Director of Public Instruction in the Madras Presidency. His opinion in the matter is entitled to great weight, and what he further says on the subject may help to determine just conclusions on the difficult question of moral and religious education in Indian colleges and schools. Judgment of what has been done in the past and of what may be better done in the past and of what may be better done in the future depends closely on just conclusions as to what is *possible*.

I will take first the question of religious education. When I see religious education seriously advocated as the basis of morality in Indian schools and colleges, I wonder if those who advocate it have any clear ideas as to what they mean. Which religion? In India there are many religions. "Have there not been, are there not religious beliefs, utterly antagonistic to genuine morality? In spite of this people speak and write as if the problem of moral education would be solved were religious instruction provided for the young! It surely ought to be recognized that everything will depend on the moral character of the religious beliefs inculcated. No one would recommend the teaching of any and every religious dogma in Indian schools; and until such beliefs as may on moral grounds be taught, are separated from such as may not be taught, the question of religious instruction must remain one on which no practical policy can be adopted." Dr. Duncan wrote thus in 1888. Now twenty years later the voices protesting the inadequacy of secular education and the indispensable necessity of religious education are many and powerful. Sir Andrew Fraser wrote in October last in the *Nineteenth Century*: "we want a higher type of education, a system that recognizes the moral and religious side of a man's training as well as the intellectual and physical." "The genius of Indian thought, the demands of Indian parents, the strong representation of Indian chiefs are all in favour of religious education." Bishop Welldon, who knows a little of India and much of education, is reported a few weeks ago as declaring that he held with an intensity of conviction which it was difficult to express "that secular education, wherever it was given and by whomsoever it was given, was a lamentable failure." If one is seriously desirous of amending what is amiss with the educational system of this country such utterances as these must give him pause. There is also something plausible and persuasive in the argument, especially when it follows on the failure, or assumed failure, of moral education without religion. Still one does not readily, perhaps, shake one-self free of the old prepossession that religious teaching is impossible in conjunction with modern education in India, which seemed so short a while ago a maxim universally acknowledged. At any rate we are entitled to inquire by what particular instrumentality it is to be done; done rightly; and done safely. For we have been apt to look upon religion in India as somewhat like a powder magazine to be approached cautiously. Certainly there are difficulties. Illustrations quite remote from India will help to their clearer apprehension. Could we be content to found our school morality on the workshop of Thor and Odin, of Hela and the Valkyries? Could we cheerfully revive in our colleges the many coloured polytheism of Greece and Rome? We should acknowledge there were elements of good in the religion of

Hellas. There were also evil elements against which Plato and the philosophers inveighed before ever the zeal of the early Christians turned the gods of Greece into demons. There was the worship of Dionysus and Aphrodite as well as of Apollo and of Pallas Athene. In some cults human sacrifice survived. The thief, the murderer and the adulterer all found their patron deity to pray to. In India, too, there are many and diverse cults and there is at all events danger of reviving religious cults in favour of evil morals rather than good. The problem is too hard for us. We take refuge in toleration. We tolerate all religions in colleges, so long as they do not actively propagate crime : we give free opportunity to religious teachers outside the guarded sphere of scholastic training. We do not actively assist religious teaching within it, because we are debarred from exercising any discrimination as to what we judge good or ill. We cannot secure that only the good shall come in : so we think it safer to admit none at all.

There is a practical difficulty remaining also, if we should determine to make the experiment of aiding and abetting direct religious instruction. So far as colleges were intended to represent one religion only, like the Sanskrit College or Aligarh, there would not be (as there is not now) any difficulty. But it is not practicable, even were it desirable, to make all schools and colleges sectarian. How can religious teaching be introduced, if the school or college authorities do not themselves take the responsibility for it ? Only by admitting teachers from outside. This, however, gives rise to an objection which to the man who works in school or college is probably decisive : it would be to introduce rival authorities into college and school, the educational and the religious, and there would be too great apprehension that this rival authority might undermine discipline for the teacher ever to acquiesce in it with an easy mind.

It is not possible to discuss the subject exhaustively and more might doubtless be said on both sides. The balance appears to the present writer to be decisively against the expedience of making a radical change in the policy hitherto adopted by the Government of India in regard to religious education.

It remains, then, that our education of character, so far as schools and colleges are concerned, must be independent of a specially religious basis. This does not, however, at all necessarily mean that it is cut off from all appeal to what is most morally persuasive in religion. The true essence of belief as far as morals are concerned is that God is on the side of righteousness. This it is which gives effective power to religion as a motive to morality. The appeal to this fundamental faith is not denied to the teacher on a purely secular basis of education. This belief involves no theological dogma and offends no religious susceptibilities. The appeal is, therefore, always within the secular teacher's discretion.

For the rest our task must be to make the best of the ordinary means of moral education ; and the only practical question here is whether any means have been overlooked which might be employed ; is there anything more which might be done now ? "Morality," Dr. Duncan well says, "must be taught in schools in the way in which it is taught at home, and in the social life of the young. Morality cannot be taught as a branch of knowledge forming part of the school curriculum, nor is a special text book the best means of inculcating it. That danger of neglecting the

spirit for the letter, which has to be particularly guarded against, when text-books are used in teaching the ordinary branches of knowledge, would be much more menacing, were the attempt made to teach morality through a specially prepared text-book." This is well said and decisive against one of the two practical suggestions of the Commission of 1882. The second was for series of lectures on the duties of a man and a citizen. Now it is very certain that college addresses by the Principal of a college to the college as a whole are very necessary as an incentive and support of the corporate life of a college. They should, however, deal with the duties of the members of a collegiate society rather than duties of members of the community in a wider sense. Such addresses should be made to students as students of the college (and of that college in particular) and should bear closely on the particular and present circumstances of life in the college. They should in a broad sense be lay sermons. A Principal who is not full to overflowing with thoughts for such addresses can have very imperfectly realised the obligations and privileges of his position. If in particular cases and for exceptional reasons a Principal feels unable to take on himself this responsibility, he may delegate the function to such members of the college staff as are fitted to discharge it. There is some loss of efficacy if the head of the college speaks by deputy, but the essential point is that there should be regular addresses and that these addresses should concern themselves with the students' present surroundings and responsibilities. If the student learns aright the lesson of his duties as a student, there will be no question later on as to his recognition of what is due from him as a man and a citizen. Addresses need not be very frequent, better not. Once or twice in a year should suffice, but there can be no hard-and-fast line drawn in this matter. Along with such direct and solemn incentives to right doing the most potent instrument of *moral education* is, undoubtedly, good rules of discipline, considerably imposed and firmly enforced. The habit of obedience to rule has formal value in itself; willing obedience to good rules with a recognition that they are good is moral education of the most effective kind. In the main, character must be formed by action; right actions from right motives trained into virtuous habits. As Dr. Duncan writes:—"Practical morality is an art which is learnt like every other art solely by doing moral actions." Hence the preponderant value of well-regulated school and college discipline. Yet even that cannot be fully efficacious of itself. So much depends also on the nature which the pupil brings for school discipline to mould and on the influences of his other surroundings, his earliest associations, his out-of-school companions, his home. These things cannot be regulated by the teacher: they lie almost absolutely outside the reach of his influence; and these outside influences are by no means always favourable. All the more pressing is his responsibility and the need for increasing the efficacy of moral teaching in the school.

Undoubtedly the most important factor of all is the character of the teacher himself. And here again Government policy has not failed, but is on the right lines. "The Government of India," says Dr. Duncan, "have rightly given the foremost place among their recommendations to the employment of trained teachers and the provision of efficient training schools," and he is able to

point with satisfaction to the attention which had already at that date been paid to the subject in Madras. Bengal, on the other hand, has lagged behind and is endeavouring with the happiest promise to make up that ground now. The extreme importance of right selection of teachers in every grade, and especially in the highest, is not yet sufficiently recognized; at any rate not sufficiently provided for. In the matter of discipline also, the support the teacher may count on getting might be made more assured. The enforcement of judicious rules is, as has been said, the chief educational instrument. There must be no doubt that the fearless enforcement of discipline by the teacher will receive support, if support is needed. This has not always been sufficiently well assured in the past. If these two things are better done (1) unsparing effort made to secure that teachers shall be men of high character; (2) due provision made for establishing and maintaining sound discipline, Government will have done all that is at present possible for moral education. No radical change of policy is called for; only the better and more efficient carrying out of the policy long since adopted.

XIV. MASS EDUCATION

There can be no doubt that the Despatch of 1854 contemplated a general extension of popular education and desired in particular to bring education to those classes "who are utterly incapable of obtaining any education worthy of the name by their own unaided efforts." But when the Commission of 1882 flatly recommended "that primary education be declared to be that part of the whole system of Public Instruction which possesses an almost exclusive claim on local funds set apart for education and a large claim on provincial revenues," they went far beyond anything to be found in the Despatch of 1854. In the Despatch of 1854 it will be found that primary and secondary schools are dealt with together in the same paragraph as parts of the one problem of popular education. "Schools—whose objects should be not to train a few youths but to provide more opportunities than now exist for the acquisition of such an improved education as will make those who possess it more useful members of society in every condition of life—should exist in every district in India." "We include in this class of institutions those which, like the Zillah schools of Bengal, the district Government Anglo-Vernacular schools of Bombay, and such as have been established by the Raja of Burdwan and other native gentlemen in different parts of India, use the English language as the chief medium of instruction; as well as others of an inferior order, such as the Tahsil schools in the North-West Provinces, and the Government Vernacular schools in the Bombay Presidency. . . ." "Lastly what have been called indigenous schools should by wise encouragement . . . be made capable of imparting correct elementary knowledge to the great mass of the people." All classes of schools were to be encouraged by the new system of grants-in-aid, and it is specifically laid down that grants should as a general principle "be made to such schools as require some fee, however small, from their scholars." The Commission of 1882 still contemplated the levying of fees in aided schools as a general rule, but advocated the admission of free students on the ground of poverty and a general or

larger exemption in the case of special school established for the benefit of poorer classes."

The overwhelming variety in respect of primary education is the immense scale of the problem. In 1885 Sir. C. P. Ilbert, after recalling the great advance between 1853 and 1882, adds: "and yet after all these figures the stern fact remains that education has succeeded in reaching only some ten per cent of the male population of India and has scarcely reached the female population at all." His conclusion is: "The task of the future is gigantic but not impracticable." A quarter of a century has passed since he wrote and the latest statistics available show that whereas the total number of boys who should be at school in primary schools proportionately to the people of India is eighteen millions, the number actually at school is rather over three-and-a-half millions, or a fifth of the whole. The actual total for 1885 is somewhat under two millions and a half so that the advance of twenty-five years is one million two hundred thousand. The figure for male literacy by the census of 1901 is 102 per thousand, or practically still 10 per cent. It can not be contended that those facts and figures afford much ground for satisfaction.

The resolution of the 11th March, 1904, the latest formal statement of the Government of India's educational policy, re-affirms the great need of primary education and acknowledges the obligation for more attention to it. The conclusion to which Government is brought in section 18 is "that primary education has hitherto received insufficient attention and an inadequate share of the public funds. They consider that it possesses a strong claim upon the sympathy of the Supreme Government and of the Local Government and should be made a leading charge upon Provincial revenues; and that in those provinces where it is in a backward condition, its encouragement should be a primary obligation." As regards aims and policy, then, there has been consistency of statement and a growth in the intensive preception of the responsibility involved from 1854 to 1904. But recognition of the greatness of the problem and affirmation of the duty of accepting responsibility for it, though valuable as incitements to effort leave things just as they were, until words and intentions take shape in action. What action has been taken? What action is possible? There are the practical problems. Something has been done since 1901. Primary education had a share in the Imperial grant of 40 lakhs to education in 1902. Thirty-five lakhs has been given exclusively to primary education from Imperial revenues since 1905. Between 1902 and 1907 schools have increased by 10,700; scholars by 622,000. This is something substantial and all the more significant that progress between 1892 and 1902 is hardly appreciable. But this half million or so of boys is itself but a small fraction compared with thirteen million still to be reached. Mr. Orange says: "If the number of boys at school continued to increase even at the rate of increase that has taken place in the last five years, and there were no increase of population, several generations would still elapse before primary education can be universally diffused." In face of the vast area of the problem still untouched the contrast between what has been done and the doctrine of free compulsory education is grotesque. On any plain reading of facts and possibilities compulsory education is beyond the horizon and free education on

any comprehensive scale of doubtful expediency. The reasons why beyond a certain point which possibly has already been almost reached, the extension of popular education must of necessity be increasingly difficult were cogently stated by Mr. Nathan in the review of 1902. "The main cause," he writes, "is no doubt that numerical progress must be made downwards, and that every step down is attended by greater and greater difficulty and expense. When the education departments began to devote their attention to the general furtherance of primary instruction, they had in the first place to deal with a portion of the population who were accustomed to and valued education and who lived in populous and easily-accessible parts of the country ; and they were aided by a more or less widespread system of indigenous schools. In such circumstances progress was comparatively easy. These favourable conditions have now been to a great extent exhausted, and the portion of the problem which remains to be dealt with is far harder. The benefits of education have now to be conveyed to the poorer raiyats, the lower castes and the wilder tribes who have from time immemorial lived without instruction. . . In many cases the illiterate portion of the population lives in scattered villages and in parts of the country in which the means of communication are still indifferent. To establish small schools in such localities for an indifferent or unwilling population can not fail to be a difficult and expensive task." There is obviously a just perception of hard realities in this statement of causes, though it is far from excluding a large, a very large practical demand for new schools if only money were forthcoming. But not only has the area over which primary education has still to spread to be considered, but, unless all the lessons of the past are to go for nothing, the quality of primary education has to be well considered also before any forward movement on an extraordinary scale is further planned. Several considerations offer here ; and while signs of good comfort are not wanting, there is much which calls for deliberation and caution. School buildings have to be considered, equipment, plans of education and, above all, teachers. On all these heads, and especially the last, there is much to give the "impatient idealist" pause. No great forward movement is practicable without a greatly reinforced army of teachers ; no forward movement will be of real avail without an army of trained teachers. Efforts are being made to train teachers in every province of the Empire and considerable success is being achieved. But what has been done does not by a long interval suffice for the adequate officering of the schools which already exist ; there is no great reserve from which battalions for fresh conquests can be drawn. Long continued and ever more determined effort is needed and the lapse of many years before there can be any possibility of a multitude of duly trained teachers to be sent forth to occupy new territories. If there is no point clearly brought out by the last quinquennial review, by the Resolution of 1904, by provincial reports on public instruction since 1907 especially those for Bengal, it is the inadequate payment of primary school teachers and the imperative necessity of making the teachers, livelihood better and better assured, if there is to be any advance of popular education worth the name.

This is the consideration of dominant importance and to this, if the intention to throw greater energy into the organisation and

spread of primary education is real, attention must be paid in the first place—even before the provision of training schools, absolutely essential as the training of teachers is to success. It is known that in Bengal at all events the agency for training elementary teachers, inadequate as it is, has already outgrown the effective demand which the actual prospects of teachers make on the pupils of training schools. Inspectors report that too frequently teachers are trained at public expense in guru-training schools and then betaken themselves to callings less ill-remunerated than that of the village schoolmaster. This question of the provision of qualified teachers is so much the most important that all other requirements of primary education sink into insignificance compared with it. And yet the provision of schools and of suitable equipment for schools are problems of great scale and some difficulty. In the planning of suitable courses of instruction great progress has been made, and this is the most promising factor in the problem. Commonsense has at last effected the adoption of courses which have a practical and intimate relation to the life of the classes for whose benefit they are instituted. There is great hope here. When the teachers are added to the courses of instruction, the most important conditions will have been secured for a great and memorable advance, which will only then be further limited by the extent to which Imperial and local funds can be provided.

There is not and cannot be any question of checking any effort which the new Department or Local Governments may make in the immediate future for the improvement and expansion of mass education. Only out of the experience of the past fifty years certain lessons should be laid to heart, and these prescribe caution. Two cautions in particular would seem to be timely. One is not to let go any vantage that has accrued from educational effort since 1857 and, in particular, the gains, at present insecure and only beginning to be realised, of the educational movement from 1901 to 1906. The other is less welcome to a sincere faith in the efficacy of education and in the grandeur of the design outlined by the authors of the Despatch of 1854 and of the other great documents which define the policy of the Government of India, but none the less necessary to state. It is this. The success of the great expansion of higher education since 1857, and more specially since 1882, though not in the main to be doubted, is not in all aspects so clear and undoubted that we can go on light-heartedly to take in hand a problem of far vaster magnitude and of potentialities even more deeply hidden from our ken. Some of the results of higher education have been unanticipated and have taken its well-wishers by surprise. We did not know what the economic results of higher education would be; we did not know what the political results would be. Are we sure we can gauge all the consequences of universal mass education, and that, if we could, we should welcome them all? English education had surprises in store alike for pedagogue and statesman. Is it possible that universal popular education might have some also? There is reason for greatly enhanced effort. There is reason for hopefulness and enthusiasm and zeal. There is justification for all and more than all that the new Department and all the Local Governments can do. But there is reason also for caution against haste to see results, to quote statistics. Nothing useful can be accomplished.

solely by sweeping ordinances from headquarters and the announcement of a grandiose programme. If good is to be done, it will be done by the quiet effort of myriads of humble workers, inspired and patiently organised by educational captains. A chastened recognition of the greatness of the task to be undertaken and of the insufficiency of the means, unless by persistent hopefulness and unfaltering zeal they are multiplied and intensified into adequacy, must go before any effective advance on the great scale. It is perseverance and indomitable renewal of effort, steady and gradually enlarged development of the agencies at work, that are needed, not any striking new departure.

XV.—THE EDUCATION DEPARTMENTS AND THEIR WORK

"In the selection of the heads of the educational departments, the inspectors and other officers, it will be of the greatest importance to secure the services of persons who are not only best able from their character, position and acquirements, to carry our objects into effect, but who may command the confidence of the natives of India. It may, perhaps, be advisable that the first heads of the Educational Department, as well as some of the inspectors, should be members of our civil service; as such appointments in the first instance would tend to raise the estimation in which these offices will be held and to show the importance we attach to the subject of education, and also as amongst them you will probably find the persons best qualified for the performance of the duty."

In these words the Despatch of 1854 strikes the right key-note,—the paramount importance in education of selecting the right men. In reviewing the work of the departments it will be well to give the foremost place to this aspect of organisation, because apart from men to work it, machinery is of little avail. I shall examine, then, what steps were originally taken to give effect to this cardinal principle and how it has since been safe-guarded.

The earliest appointed Directors of Public Instruction in accordance with the suggestion of the Despatch were members of the Indian Civil Service; in Bengal, Mr. Gordon Young (described by Sir Alexander Arbuthnot in his "Memories of Rugby and India" as a man of imposing physique); in Bombay Mr. J. C. Erskine, a little later Vice-Chancellor of Calcutta University; in Madras Mr. A. J. Arbuthnot, whose memories published last year have just been referred to. But it was not intended to make education a branch of the existing civil service. It was eventually to be independently administered by men specially qualified for educational work. The Despatch continues: "But we desire that neither these offices, nor any other connected with education, shall be considered as necessarily to be filled by members of that service, to the exclusion of others, Europeans or Natives, who may be better fitted for them; and that in any case the scale of their remuneration shall be fixed as publicly to recognise the important duties they will have to perform." These points are emphasised in a supplementary despatch dated April the 7th, 1859. It is added: "The spirit of the instructions of the Court of Directors with regard to the classes from whom the officers of the departments were to be selected appears to have been duly observed. In Bengal, the North-Western Provinces, Madras and Bombay, members of the civil

service were in the first instance appointed Directors of Public Instruction ; and the several appointments of Inspectors were filled indiscriminately by civil servants, military and Medical officers and individuals unconnected with any of these services. In the Punjab the office of Director has from the first been held by a gentleman who was at the time of his nomination in the military service, but who retired from the army immediately on appointment. In Bombay the first Director, Mr. Erskine had been succeeded by a gentleman who was previously a barrister ; and among the present Inspectors it is believed that there are not in all the Presidencies more than two or three members of the civil service."

So far there is no explicit recognition of the fact that there is, or might be, a distinct educational profession for which special qualifications and training are required as distinct from those of military, medical and administrative officers, or practising barristers, and that gentlemen appointed to an *Education* Department should by preference have these qualifications ; but it seems to be glanced at later on in this despatch where it is written : "After a full consideration of the grounds on which the Court of Directors formerly gave their sanction as a temporary arrangement to the employment of covenanted civil servants in the Department of Education, Her Majesty's Government are, on the whole, of opinion that as a general rule all appointments in the Department of Education should be filled by individuals unconnected with the service of Government either civil or military. It is not their wish that officers now in the department should be disturbed for the sole purpose of carrying out this rule ; and they are aware that difficulty might at present be experienced in finding well qualified persons, unconnected with the regular services to fill vacant offices in the department. But it is their desire that the rule now prescribed be kept steadily in view, and that every encouragement be given to *persons of education* to enter the educational service, even in the lower grades, by making it known that in the nominations to the higher offices in the department preference will hereafter be given to those who may so enter it, if competent to discharge the duties." The reasons for this policy are stated somewhat more trenchantly by Sir G. R. Clark, at the time an Under-Secretary of State, in a memorandum dated March the 29th, 1858. Among other suggestions and criticisms he urges it as advisable "to discontinue the practice of appointing Civilians or others properly belonging to the civil or military administration to conduct any of the departments of education. When so engaged they are themselves in a transition state. They are looking for promotion in departments quite unconnected with education. They are therefore eager for immediate distinction in the sphere in which they find themselves temporarily placed."

A separate educational service was accordingly formed parallel with the Civil, Medical, Opium, Jail, Police, Customs and other branches of administration under the several provincial governments. This higher service was subsequently, after reorganisation and improvement, known as the Graded Educational Service ; and after 1896 as the Indian Educational Service, and since leadership and guidance in the actual field of education have necessarily been committed to the men appointed to this service, the conditions of service and the quality of the men attracted to it were matters of the deepest moment. A curious complication of the problem of

selection has been that in India the education departments have discharged a function usually performed by distinct agency, the staffing of colleges doing university work. In Germany university professors are appointed by Government and receive their salaries from the State, but they are not, so far as I am aware, graded in a list which includes also school inspectors. In the United Kingdom the State education department is concerned only with school education and for the most part primary school education. The significant difference is best brought out by saying that in England till recently the Education Department had nothing to do with secondary education and has comparatively little even now, and that it has never had anything at all to do with university education. In India collegiate education was an important branch of the work of the education departments—even the most important in proportion as the bias since 1835, and still more since 1857, has lent to the side of university education. After 1855 the *staffing* of Government colleges in a province was the business of the provincial education department. Principals and professors of colleges as well as inspectors of schools were recruited for and graded in a single service. This may not have been felt as an embarrassment from the beginning; but it became so as soon as the departmental system came fully into operation and questions of promotion and of transfer from one appointment to another arose. Even this produced no great inconvenience in the earlier years, though a professor of Mathematics or Botany might next year find himself an inspector of schools, or one appointed for his qualifications in Philosophy or History be required a little later to teach English literature because work was little specialized in the colleges and it was not till later that any great importance was attached to special training to fit the school inspector for his work. When, however, the work of the colleges became more advanced with the institution of Honour and M.A. courses of study, serious inconvenience arose and have become more and more sensibly felt: and finally (?) definite protests have been raised against them with growing emphasis in the last twenty years. Also as the studies of the colleges became more advanced and more specialized, men with more special qualifications were brought out from time to time direct from the English universities to teach Chemistry or Physics, Mathematics or Philosophy, History or Economics, though it is only quite recently that conviction that any Englishman (Scotsman or Irishman) of moderate education could teach English literature has begun to give ground. The inconvenience when the conditions were fully matured, of combining in a homogeneous service functions markedly heterogeneous, is sufficiently obvious. For an inspector of schools you want commonsense and administrative capacity coupled with zeal for and belief in education, and such an intimate knowledge of schools as would make him thoroughly master of all the details of their practical organization and working. In a college professor you want first and foremost a competent knowledge of his subject and ability to teach it. A college professor must be a learned man and a specialist in a particular branch of knowledge. In an inspector of schools you want primarily practical capacity, bodily activity combined with a good general education. These differences are well recognised now in Bengal and the higher educational service in practically divided into two branches, the

collegiate supplying professors equipped with special knowledge of literature and science for colleges ; the administrative consisting of divisional inspectors of schools. But relics of the anomaly survive inasmuch as these two kinds of "officers" are gazetted in the same list and there is nothing to prevent an interchange of appointments when departmental convenience suggests it. This confusion of functions may fairly, I think, be set down as a defect in the organization of the education departments. It is hardly perhaps to be called an original mistake, because in the fifties the difficulties of recruitment were greater, there was little relevant experience for guidance as to method, and the ill effects of the confusion were not at once apparent, because, as I have said, the work was not as yet really specialized and one man was within limits equally well-fitted for a variety of functions. It is a defect now and has been for a long time, and it might have been sooner amended. The same confusion is found in what are now known as the Provincial Educational Services and in the subordinate branches called respectively the Subordinate and Lower Subordinate Educational Services. In the Provincial Service are found, as in the Indian Service, principals and professors of colleges ; demonstrators in science, headmasters and inspectors of schools, and, in addition, translators to Government and incumbents of other anomalous posts. In the Subordinate and Lower Subordinate Services are graded promiscuously head and assistant masters, subordinate inspecting officers, gymnastic instructors, librarians, members of the various clerical establishments, store-keepers, circle pandits, master-blacksmiths and reformatory guards and escorting officers. The suspicion is generated and grows whether the departmental system on this comprehensive scale is suited for educational work, unless at all events classes of work are first carefully distinguished, and stronger suspicion takes definite shape ; whether the departmental system is suitable at all for colleges ; whether a college should not rather be recruited for and equipped solely *ad hoc* (as Sir Alexander Grant actually proposed in 1867) every man in his appointed place and with his special work, and with distinct and appropriate prospects in that work. Startling at first as such a proposition may be to minds familiar with the departmental basis of organization the impracticability will be found to dwindle when steadily looked in the face and may even fade away altogether when it is remembered that practically every college in England and most secondary schools are organized on the rival principle. It is not suggested that any wide change would be practicable or expedient, but the drawbacks incidental to a departmental system might with advantage be recognized, and watched ; and the endeavour to lessen the disadvantages be consistently maintained.

It now remains to be considered more particularly how in the recruitment of men for the higher educational service effect was given in practice to the policy of the Despatch of 1859 to attract to it men specially qualified for educational work, and so to fix the remuneration as "publicly to recognise the important duties they will have to perform." It is, however, advisable to reserve this enquiry for treatment in a separate paper.

XVI.—THE HIGHER EDUCATIONAL SERVICE

When colleges for more advanced education in English were

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first started in India, no little difficulty was naturally experienced in staffing them. They were at first staffed locally, as we should now say ; that is, the least unsuitable men who could be found ready at hand were appointed. Obviously there was no specially literate class of Englishmen in India previous to 1854. Even the Haileybury men, however high their intellectual capacity, were not academically educated and were not pre-eminently scholars. Moreover, as we have seen, members of the Civil Service were implicitly excluded by the Despatch of 1854 from the work of the education departments after the first few years and I am not aware that a single member of that service was ever a college principal or professor.

From what material, then, could selection be made ? An examination of the earliest appointments will show. It will show also that if there was ever a qualified teacher among them it was by accident.

At the Hindu College (Calcutta), the teaching staff was originally Indian, but one of the two Secretaries was a European "appointed for the special purpose of superintending the English department." The suggestion that it might be necessary to bring teachers from England appears first in 1823 in connection with the teaching of natural science, or as it was then called, natural philosophy. Five hundred pounds was spoken of as "the lowest sum likely to attract a well-qualified individual to India." The General Committee commented in 1825 on the want of well-qualified instructors : "In order to afford to the students of the Hindu College that full and comprehensive instruction that was desirable, persons duly qualified for the office must be brought from England." "The General Committee considered it of importance that those gentlemen who might be brought out from England should have received a Collegiate education ; that they should be laymen, so as to afford no possible ground for mis-interpreting the motives of Government ; and that they should be persons of extensive acquirements, and capable of communicating as well as accumulating knowledge." The proposal was for two professors so appointed, a Professor of Mathematics and a Professor of English Literature, and particular consideration was given to the qualifications required in the latter. The Committee pointed out that whereas no special qualifications were wanted for teaching Mathematics in India beyond those needed for such work in England, "a teacher of English literature would be placed in a situation to which there was nothing analogous at Home." They added that as it was of great moment to inspire a feeling of interest in our national literature "the preceptor in this department should be imbued with its spirit and should be a man of taste as well as of letters. He should not only be well read in English authors of different periods, but familiar with their merits and be able to teach them so that they shall be felt as well as understood." All this was admirably well considered. No professor was appointed from England till 1841 when "two gentlemen selected by Dr. Mill and Mr. Macaulay" arrived in India. "Previous to 1839," writes Mr. Kerr in his *Review of Public Instruction in the Bengal Presidency*, (dated 1852) from which the preceding quotations are also made : "the higher situations in the public colleges, including those of Professors, were invariably filled by men who were available on the spot. The Army, more particularly the Medical Service, furnished some valuable officers, and others were selected from the miscellane-

ous class who came out to push their fortune in India. As the colleges rose in importance this source of supply became inadequate, and in 1839 Government perceived the necessity of engaging the services of well-educated men in England."

As soon as it was decided to bring men from England for educational work in India the question of remuneration and prospects at once became acute. What would suffice for men whose homes were in India and whose strictly educational qualifications were negligible became ridiculously inadequate for men of "distinguished attainments" from Oxford and Cambridge. The Court of Directors took strong ground on the principle that the colleges "should be placed under European superintendence of the most respectable kind, both as to station and acquirements." "It is, however, to be regretted," adds Mr. Kerr, "that Government has not seen fit to adopt the most rational means in its power of attracting talent to the educational service by holding out the inducement of more liberal remuneration." In 1852, when this was written, the salary of Principals of colleges was Rs. 600 a month, of a Professor Rs. 400 to Rs. 500. This scale was the result of arrangement made in 1840. "It must be allowed," writes Mr. Kerr, "that a very great improvement was effected at this time. But the scale of remuneration is still too low. It is essential to the efficiency of the service that there should at least be a few appointments better paid than any which are at present open to us. As it is, there are no high prizes to reward successful exertion. Our prospects are limited to the attainment of a very moderate income, upon which we live in comfort so long as we enjoy uninterrupted health, but which does not except in the most favourable circumstances, enable us to make any provision for our families, or to retire to our native land."

It is not without relevance to the present to note the exact circumstances of these small beginnings and of the earliest protests of the professional teacher for a more adequate recognition of the importance and worth of his profession. When the Graded Educational Service was organised (about 1870) it afforded something in the shape of the higher prospects the want of which Mr. Kerr deplored. The initial salary was Rs. 500. The highest attainable was Rs. 1,500. There were four grades, the 4th from Rs. 500 to Rs. 750; the 3rd from Rs. 750 to Rs. 1,000, the 2nd from Rs. 1,000 to 1,250 and the 1st from Rs. 1,250 to Rs. 1,500. In 1895, the service was recognised under the title of the Indian Educational Service appointed in England. Meanwhile the fall of the rupee had changed relative values much for the worse as compared with earliest times. The range of salaries otherwise remained the same, Rs. 500 to Rs. 1,500. The only change of importance was that instead of waiting for vacancies before promotion from the 4th to the next highest class, members of the service were advanced steadily from Rs. 500 to Rs. 1000 in the first ten years of service. This gave the advantage of regular increase of income independent of accident. The prospects beyond ten years were not improved. A very limited number of personal allowances were added, lower allowances of Rs. 200 to 250; higher allowances of Rs. 250 to Rs. 500, and in default of one of these there is an allowance of Rs. 100 after fifteen years of approved service. The ordinary limit of the prospects of a member of the Indian Educational Service is Rs. 1,500 a month or £1,200 a year; and as these higher allow-

ances are very few in number the average prospects must be rated at something below that.

Two questions can very pertinently be asked from the standpoint of the present : (1) Has the result of these measures been entirely satisfactory ? (2) If not, has everything in reason been done to ensure success in this particular ? Now as regards the first it happens that a very striking and very important public deliverance has recently been made by an observer who must be admitted both competent to pass an opinion and impartial, the author of the *Times* articles on "Indian Unrest." Mr. Valentine Chirol speaks of the Indian Educational Service as regarded and treated as an inferior branch of the public service ! This is at a time when the immense importance of education is reiterated by every responsible representative of Government ; and that such a reference could for a moment be made with any plausibility shows that something must be very wrong. It is obligatory then to investigate what has been the mode of recruitment and what have been the status and attainments of the *personnel* of the higher educational service. In theory appointments to the service, at all events latterly, were made in England : in practice a certain number have always been made in India. A good many of the men appointed were already engaged in educational work in India. Some had come out as missionaries, some as school-masters to institutions like the Calcutta Martiniere and the Doveton College, some as tutors to Indian minors of high birth and ample estates. A certain percentage of appointments have always been so made sometimes with very happy results for educational work. Others again have been adventurous pioneers of Oriental scholarship like Blochmann, who took their fortune in their hands and determined only somehow to get to India and gain access to the treasures of learning hidden there. These, rightly valued, have been even the brightest ornaments of the educational service : still from the purely "Service" standpoint little prestige was brought by any appointment made in India. Spasmodically, however, special pains have been taken to bring out to India from Oxford and Cambridge and other British universities men whose degree qualifications were beyond cavil. There has therefore all along been a sprinkling and ultimately much more than a sprinkling, one way and another, of men whose claims to respect on academic, scientific or literary grounds are indisputable. A scrutiny of the lists of the services between 1855 and the present time reveals not a few names of more than quite local distinction. First among these may be noted Sir Alexander Grant, editor of Aristotle's *Ethics*, who was Principal of the Deccan College from 1860 to 1865 and afterwards Director of Public Instruction. To the Bombay service also belong the great names of Buhler and Kielhorn. In Bengal alone there have been J. W. McCrindle, editor of Arrian, Megasthenes and other Greek writers about India ; Sir Roper Lethbridge, Press Censor in Lord Lytton's time, since well-known in English politics ; C. H. Tawney, some time Senior Classic at Cambridge, who has translated *Bharatiharī* and other Sanskrit classics ; Sir John Eliot, founder of Meteorological Science in India ; C. B. Clarke, the distinguished Botanist ; Sir Alfred Croft ; Sir Alexander Pedler ; Dr. C. R. Wilson, whose antiquarian investigations in Calcutta resulted in the exact determination of the site of the Black Hole and in the two

volumes of his *Early Annals of the English in Bengal*. Sir Edwin Arnold's name can be added to those of the distinguished men on the Bombay side, as he was for some years Principal of the Deccan College. The North-West Provinces have produced several Oriental scholars of high repute, James Ballantyne, Ralph Griffith, A. E. Gough and Dr. Thibaut. To Bengal again belong Blochmann and Rudolph. The first Director in the Punjab was William Delafield Arnold, son of Dr. Arnold of Rugby and immortalised by his elder brother, Matthew, in "Stanzas from Carnac" and "A Southern Night." The Punjab had till recently in its educational service the explorer, Dr. Stein, who also was at one time in charge of the Calcutta Madrassah. Madras was fortunate in her first Director, Mr. A. J. (afterwards Sir Alexander) Arbuthnot, who was a member of the I.C.S., and returned after some years to general administrative work, but who was essentially a man educationally minded. Other names of distinction in Madras are Mr. E. B. Powell and Dr. Duncan.

These are the more eminent names, taking account only of men no longer on the active list. From the rank and file of the service, whether recruited in England or in India, respectable academic qualifications have always been required and the picked men have had high academic qualifications. If the service has not that prestige and standing which it is expedient it should have, it does not appear to be from want of a reasonable high standard of academic qualification. There are, however, circumstances which have operated unfavourably and hindered the educational service from attaining that consideration and influence which the importance of its work and the educational qualifications of its members should rightly carry. Many reasons for this might be suggested and one of them would be a certain backwardness in pushing their own interests on the part of the members of the service themselves. There are two reasons in special: (1) The educational service necessarily suffers by comparison with the Indian Civil Service, its members being drawn from the same social classes and having approximately equal qualifications—unless it can be seriously maintained that there is specific virtue in one more competitive examination and the finish imparted by the crammer's art. (2) The nature of higher educational work is little understood in India: it meets with neither sympathy nor appreciation. If educational work were better understood and proper consideration were shown to those engaged upon it on this account, as is to a certain extent the case in England, where a teacher is sometimes esteemed a person entitled to more respect than a man with twice the salary and holding official rank, the disproportion in pay and prospects would matter less. Since, however, the peculiarly delicate and responsible nature of educational work is not socially recognised, and the only standard of value accepted is salary and prospects, the less advantageous terms on which educational men work, results in a real lowering in public esteem and this disparagement has undoubtedly exercised a somewhat depressing effect on the atmosphere of educational work.

It might well be deemed a concern for statesmanship to enquire what steps are necessary in order to assure to the educational service such a heightening of tone and energy as might invigorate the work to the utmost. Two directions of enquiry may be sug-

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gested : (1) Supposing the intention to be to secure the steady recruitment of men of exceptional ability, are the terms offered adequate ? (2) Are all possible means used—have they been used in the past, to make the nature and interest of educational work in India known in such a way as to attract the most desirable candidates ? Unless an affirmative answer can confidently be given to both these questions, it is statesmanship itself which is at fault, not the educational services. They are what Government has made them. But this is not all. Of all the great work done in India during the last hundred years, there has been none more difficult to do than the work of higher education. "High-class education has much to struggle against in this country," wrote the second Director of Public Instruction in the Bombay Presidency in 1860 and it is still true in 1911. The task taken in hand was, indeed, incredible, the difficulties almost insuperable, so much so that critics, not ill-qualified, now declare the whole movement to have been a mistake ; not observing, as I think, the great advance, intellectual and moral, made between 1835 and 1910. Let a little more credit be given to the men who have struggled against these difficulties and worked on quietly and unostentatiously in a sphere of labour withdrawn from the main current of official preferment. At least let the Indian public acknowledge what it owes to those by whose labour and devotion the educational system has been built up and by renewed efforts brought nearer to thoroughness and efficiency. This is said for the men of the higher educational service first because in them is vested a certain primacy in virtue of the qualifications demanded of them and of their relation to Government. But it is said also for all classes of educational workers : for the Provincial Service, for the Subordinate and Lower Subordinate Services, all in their places and degrees, and for the numerous workers of all grades outside Government service in missionary and private institutions ; for all who have done and are doing faithful educational service of any kind. Very much more might be said : this much perhaps suffices for the purpose of these papers.

XVII—THE POLITICAL MOVEMENT IN ITS RELATION TO EDUCATION

The life of a community cannot be separated into unrelated compartments any more than the life of an individual. Each part affects the rest. The development of one faculty or side of character produces effects on other faculties and influences the organism as a whole. And so the educational movement has in a certain sense been political from the outset. That is to say, in the very nature of things and by reason of the essential constitution of the mind, it was impossible to educate a single native of India without thereby affecting his relation to British rule. Education enables a man to understand better society, government, and his own relation to both. An educated man is able to place himself in the universe, to realise better his true relation to what has gone before and what will come after. If political ideas are in the air, the educated man will make acquaintance with them, and they will alter his mental outlook. So it might have been predicted, and so it was.

Raja Ram Mohun Roy was, I suppose, the first English educated native of India. He reached man's estate about the year 1802 ;

and there was nothing that could be called English education publicly begun till 1817. He owed his education and his knowledge of English to his own genius and exertions. He was no enemy to British rule, though he relates in his brief autobiography that he began "with a great aversion to the establishment of the British power in India." It was after he was twenty years of age that he first "saw and began to associate with Europeans" and soon after, he says, "made myself tolerably acquainted with their laws and form of government!" He continues: "Finding them generally more intelligent, more steady and moderate in their conduct, I gave up my prejudice against them, and became inclined in their favour, *feeling persuaded that their rule, though a foreign yoke, would lead more speedily and surely to the amelioration of the native inhabitants*; and I enjoyed the confidence of several of them even in their public capacity." This on a fair view is typical of the normal effects of education in the general. That the natives of India, Hindu or Mahomedan, Mahratta or Madrasi, should naturally and spontaneously prefer a foreign government and admire manners, and customs so unlike their own is altogether against nature. To suppose that antipathy to European ways and criticism of European manners are new and the pernicious effects of "English education" is to be ignorant alike of the laws of human nature and the plain facts of history. The natural and "unenlightened" view of English manners and customs has been vividly drawn by Trevelyan in his "Competitionwala":—"But on the other hand, many of our usages must in their eyes appear must debased and revolting. Imagine the horror with which a punctilious and devout Brahmin cannot but regard a people who eat the flesh of cows and pigs, and drink various sorts of strong liquor from morning till night. It is at least as hard for such a man to look up to us as his betters, morally and socially, as it would be for us to place amongst the most civilised nations of the world a population which was in the habit of dining on human flesh, and in toxicating itself daily with laudanum and sal-volatile." This is from the natural standpoint of Hindu orthodoxy and the effect of education could hardly be to deepen such aversion. It might do something to temper it.

Neither is criticism of the British Government really anything new. Before the close of the 18th century when the British administration of Bengal was still a novelty and not twenty years old, Syed Gholam Hossein Khan in the fourteenth section of his *Seir Mutaqherin* or "Review of Modern Times" is at pains to set forth at length twelve causes of the decrease of population and revenue which he laments. The first is "that these new rulers are quite alien to this country both in customs and manners:" the second "their differing in language as well as in almost every action and every custom in life." And yet the Syed is in many respects an admirer and shows readiness to accord praise to the forceful foreigners, when in his judgment it is due. Some of his "causes" curiously enough, such as inaccessibility to interviewers, frequent changes of appointments, excessive regard for promotion by seniority, are the commonplaces of criticism of the Anglo-Indian bureaucracy to this day. He even gives a large place in his sixth cause to the "drain." "The sixth cause is that the English have deprived the inhabitants of these countries of various branches of commerce and benefit, which they had ever enjoyed heretofore." Similarly Ram

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Mohun Roy in his evidence to the Select Committee of the House of Commons which was considering the renewal of the Commanys charter in 1831, refers to the "large sum of money now annually drawn from India by Europeans retiring from it with the fortunes realised there." There is really not very much difference in the point of view of Syed Gholam Hossein Khan writing about 1780, Ram Mohun Roy writing in 1831, and Mr. Romesh Chunder Dutt writing in 1901, though the first knew little or no English, the second was educated before Government introduced any system of education, and the third is the fine flower of English education. The truth is that the criticism, sound or unsound, arises out of the circumstances and would be in the minds of the people of India altogether independently of their power of expressing it in English. All three may be said to be well affected towards British rule in the sense of willing it to continue.

If we enquire into the causes of disaffection, we shall find them to depend little on education, at least directly; indirectly they may depend a good deal. Disaffection is the contrary of affection. In the mildest degree it connotes merely the absence of affection and passes from this through every degree of dislike up to settled hatred. Education has certainly not produced in India hatred of all things English: not obviously of English literature, English games, English standards of conduct, English institutions: because the political party, which voices the aspirations of the educated classes in India and is charged with being disaffected or allied with disaffection, is founded on an almost servile imitation of English standards and methods. As regards forms of government it probably holds that men everywhere are well affected towards a government which they clearly see secures their welfare. Habit and sentiment are powerful adjuncts. A government is strong when it appeals to the national sentiments and suits the traditional habits of the people who dwell under it. These latter supports have from the circumstances been almost wholly denied to the British Government in India. It was certainly so a hundred years ago, and it is doubtful whether these forces have as yet been very successfully rallied to it. That they might conceivably be rallied to it has not been beyond the pitch of a few daring speculators like Theodore Morrison. The support of the interest of the people at large it has had, and the clearest thinkers believe it has now in an even greater degree. It may be asked whether education is or is not likely to produce in men's minds a perception of the true interests. If, as must almost certainly be answered, it does tend to produce such a perception, the Government of India may be reasonably assured (superficial appearances to the contrary notwithstanding) of gaining strength from the spread of education, so long as it does really what it claims to do, secure the best interests of the Indian peoples. This, it may still be believed, has on the whole been the effect of the spread of education in British India.

One of the questions answered by Raja Ram Mohun Roy in 1831 was: "What is the prevailing opinion of the native inhabitants regarding the existing form of government and its administrators, Native and European?" His answer has interest and even some relevance to-day: "The peasantry and villagers in the interior," he wrote, "are quite ignorant of, and indifferent about, either the

former or present government, and attribute the protection they may enjoy or oppression they may suffer to the conduct of the public officers immediately presiding over them. But men of aspiring character and members of such families as are very much reduced by the present system consider it derogatory to accept of the trifling public situations which natives are allowed to hold under the British Government, and are decidedly disaffected to it. Many of those, however, who engage prosperously in commerce and of those who are secured in the peaceful possession of their estates by the permanent settlement, and such as have sufficient intelligence to foresee the probability of future improvement which presents itself under the British rulers, are not only reconciled to it, but really view it as a blessing to the country." And then he concludes : " But I have no hesitation in stating," with reference to the general feeling of the more intelligent part of the native community, that *the only course of policy which can ensure their attachment to any form of Government would be that of making them eligible to gradual promotion according to their respective abilities and merits, to situations of trust and respectability in the State.*" Now these concluding words form a very fair epitome of what has actually been the policy of the whole movement for education viewed on its political side. We may make again now the claim which the Commission of 1882 made in reporting on the effects of higher education : " An estimate of the effects which collegiate instruction has had upon the general education and enlightenment of the people *must in fairness be accompanied by a reference to the objects which it sets before itself.*" Now what were these objects ? They reached, no doubt, to general moral and intellectual enlightenment ; but they were also expressly directed to the well-defined and limited object of fitting men by education for the public service. Thus a letter from the Court of Directors, dated September the 5th, 1827, (eight years, be it noticed, before Macaulay's Minute) has these words : " In conclusion, it is proper to remark to you, though we have no doubt that the same reflection has already occurred to you, that adverting to the daily increasing demand for the employment of natives in the business of the country, and in important departments of the Government, the first object of improved education should be to prepare a body of individuals for discharging public duties. It may, we trust, be expected that the intended course of education will not only produce a higher degree of intellectual fitness, but that it will contribute to raise the moral character of those who partake of its advantages and supply you with servants to whose probity you may with increased confidence commit offices of trust. To this, the last and highest object of education, we expect that a large share of your attention will be applied." Sir Charles Trevelyan, writing in 1833, says : " Another great change has of late years been made in our Indian administration, which ought alone to excite us to corresponding exertions for education of the natives. The system established by Lord Cornwallis was based upon the principle of doing everything by European agency. . . . The plan which Lord William Bentinck substituted for it was to transact the public business by native agency under European superintendence, and this change is now in progress in all the different branches of administration. We have already native

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judges, collectors, and opium and salt agents; and it is now proposed to have native magistrates. . . . The success of this great measure depends entirely on the fitness of the natives for the exercise of the new functions to which they have been called." In 1844 came Lord Hardinge's resolution raising selection for employment under Government on educational grounds into a recognised principle. The Despatch of 1854, besides referring back in one of its opening paragraphs to the letter of September 1827, and later on to the resolution of 1844, definitely puts increased fitness for employment in the public services as one of the chief aims of the educational system to be inaugurated: "We have always been of opinion that the spread of education in India will produce a greater efficacy in all branches of administration by enabling you to obtain the services of intelligent and trustworthy persons in every department of Government and, on the other hand, we believe that the numerous vacancies of different kinds which have constantly to be filled up may afford a great stimulus to education." Further the Despatch claims that a measure of success has already been won: "We are sanguine enough to believe that some effect has already been produced by the improved education of the public service of India. The ability and integrity of a large and increasing number of the native judges to whom the greater part of the civil jurisdiction in India is now committed and the high estimation in which many among them are held by their fellow-countrymen, is, in our opinion, much to be attributed to the progress of education among these officers, and to their adoption along with it of that high moral tone which pervades the general literature of Europe." This judgment is re-affirmed by the Commission of 1882 with stronger assurance. After the words already quoted the Report continues: "The reformers of 1835, to whom the system is due, claimed that only by an education in English and after European methods, could we hope to raise the moral and intellectual tone of Indian society and supply the administration with a competent body of public servants. To what degree, then, have these objects been attained? Our answer is in the testimony of witnesses before this Commission, in the thoughtful opinion delivered from time to time by men whose position has given them ample opportunities of judging, and the facts obvious to all eyes throughout the country, and that answer is conclusive; if not that collegiate education has fulfilled all the expectations entertained of it, at least that it has not disappointed the hopes of a sober judgment." This was in 1883. It remains to consider whether on a careful balance the same verdict may not be pronounced in 1911.

XVII—THE POLITICAL MOVEMENT IN ITS RELATION TO EDUCATION

The process, so well known to us all, to which the quotations with which the last paper ended refer, namely, the substitution in higher and ever higher positions of responsibility of Indian for European agency, has gone on continuously since 1883, sometimes with increasing momentum, and so far the favourable verdict has not been reversed. The consummation, the legitimate consummation, the consummation which was deliberately aimed at from the beginning, is the reformed Councils and the eloquent speeches of

the leaders of Indian opinion, which we read daily when the Imperial and Provincial Councils are in session, and to which Lord Morley in the *Nineteenth Century* for February pays a tribute. The aims which are now being realised are, perhaps, even better expressed by statesmen of the type of Mountstuart Elphinstone and Sir Thomas Munro than by the public documents which have been quoted. In 1826 Elphinstone wrote in a private letter: "It has always been a favourite notion of mine that our object ought to be to place ourselves in the same relation to the natives as the Tartars are in to the Chinese; retaining the government and military power, but gradually relinquishing all share in the civil administration, except that degree of control which is necessary to give the whole an impulse and direction. This operation must be so gradual that it need not even alarm the directors for their civil patronage; but it ought to be kept in mind, and all our measures ought to tend to that object. The first steps are to commence a systematic education of the natives for civil offices, to make over to them at once a larger share of judicial business, to increase their emoluments generally, and to open a few high prizes for the most able and honest among them. The period when they may be admitted into Council (as you propose) seems to be distant" To Sir Thomas Munro he had written in 1822: "Besides the necessity for having good native advisers in governing natives, it is necessary that we should have the way for the introduction of the natives to some share in the government of their own country. It may be half a century before we are obliged to do so; but the system of Government and of education which we have already established must some time or other work such a change on the people of this country, that it will be impossible to confine them to subordinate employment. . . . " Of Sir Thomas Munro his biographer, Sir Alexander Arbuthnot, writes: "Munro attached little value to schemes for improving the education of natives unless *pari passu* steps were taken for extending to them a greater share in the honours and emoluments of office. His view was that the two things, education and higher employment, should go together." The inner significance of the whole process was expressed in 1821 by Sir Thomas Munro himself with a force and truth which could not be surpassed: "Our present system of Government by excluding all natives from power and trust and emolument is much more efficacious in depressing than all our laws and school-books can be in elevating their character. We are working against our own designs, and we can expect to make no progress while we work with a feeble instrument to improve and a powerful one to deteriorate. The improvement of the character of a people and the keeping them at the same time in the lowest state of dependency on foreign rulers to which they can be reduced by conquest, are matters quite incompatible with each other." Again he wrote in 1824: "No conceit more wild and absurd than this was ever engendered in the darkest ages; for what is in every age and every country the great stimulus to the pursuit of knowledge, but the prospect of fame, or wealth, or power? Or what is even the use of great attainments, if they are not to be devoted to their noblest purpose, the service of the community, by employing those who possess them, according to their respective qualifications, in the various duties of the public administration of the country." The

very oddity and irrelevance of these quotations now is a measure of the distance travelled since 1820. It is not amiss that these earlier forms of thought should be called to mind for those, on the one hand, who are apt to ignore what advance has been made in admitting educated Indians to posts of high responsibility and for those on the other who are ignorant of the great results which higher education has actually achieved. Even Lord Morley himself misses this, when the best he can find to say for higher education in India is that it has not wholly failed. Not only has higher education not failed to achieve what in 1835 it set out to do, but it has triumphantly succeeded; perhaps it has even succeeded too well. For though its success in training well-qualified candidates for public service is the most direct fulfilment of the original aim and purpose, it is by no means the whole achievement, or even the greatest part of it. Trevelyan writes in his monograph "On the Education of the People of India," from which quotation has already been made: "The same means which will secure for the Government a body of intelligent and upright native servants will stimulate the mental activity and improve the morals of the people at large. The Government cannot make public employment the reward of distinguished merit without encouraging merit in all who look forward to public employ; it cannot open schools for educating its servants, without diffusing knowledge among all classes of its subjects." These predictions also have been abundantly fulfilled. The renewed productivity of half a dozen literatures, the revival of art and letters, alert and critical interest in the past history and literature of Indian races (voiced as it was, for instance, eloquently but with unflinching recognition of present "short-comings," by Dr. Ashutosh Mukhopadhyaya at this year's Convocation) bear witness to the stimulation mental activity. The capacity for combination shown by numerous associations for social, literary and recreative purposes is a moral endowment. All these new capacities and powers education has conferred on the classes who have been able to profit by it. The bounds of legitimate aspiration are also herein clearly settled. This education was instituted by the British Government to enable the peoples of India to take a larger and more important share in the work of administration. This larger share of responsibility and employment has been accorded to them. The process is in mid-career. That there should be difference of opinion as to the ultimate limits of the process and as to the extent which is the due limit at any given time, is only natural. The aspiration for a larger share than that already gained is perfectly legitimate and Indians may combine to secure this larger share by constitutional means: it is equally legitimate to hold the contrary view and oppose further extension. The bounds of legitimate aspiration are the limits consistent with the stability of the established Government.

But what then of the bugbear of "anarchism and unrest"? Measured by this standard it shrinks marvellously. These intellectual and moral results are the direct product of higher education; discontent and conspiracy, if to be called products of education at all, are indirect products, like some harmful bi-product of a useful chemical process. The causes of unrest in the sinister sense are foreign domination, racial prejudice, ignorance, misunderstanding, narrowness, want of education, lack of sympathy. Education is not directly a cause at all: indirectly it may, perhaps, be called a

cause as putting these latent forces into activity. Education could never in any sound sense of the term lead to anarchist crime. A depraved and perverted nature may use the powers that education gives to evil purposes. A radically unsound education might help to produce criminals, but even so it must rather be from failure to supply deterrents than from positively supplying incentives. The education being given in Indian schools and colleges only contributes to the morbid condition of things that has produced political conspiracy and crime by its defects, by its unwholesome surroundings, by its failure to educate in any true sense at all. For want of foresight in allowing education to spread beyond the limits of effective control those in various degrees responsible for its organization must bear the blame. But the education itself must not be blamed: only the failure to make it effective. For the direct purpose of education in primary schools, in secondary schools and in colleges alike, has been to train the will in obedience and in good habits, as well as to train the intellectual faculty. So far as schools and colleges have failed in this, the purpose of education has been missed. All violence and breach of law are contrary to the very idea of education. The higher the education the greater the incompatibility of its influences with cruelty, treachery, physical violence and secret murder. Enlightenment must and does hate these things, and must still do so, even if it proclaimed the ultimate right of insurrection for national freedom. But in India enlightenment cannot proclaim the right of insurrection at all. For that enlightenment itself come from the central power which holds together the congeries of races and creeds and peoples which make up modern India and alone gives unity alike to education and to political aspiration. The aim to destroy that central power would be not murder only but suicide as well. Success in that aim would inevitably throw back all the advance towards liberty made in the last hundred years, to which even the revolutionary aim itself owes such life and power as it has. It is just because all hopes of peaceful development and prosperity really are bound up with the maintenance of the one strong and stable government, that education must in proportion as it is true and thorough strengthen the forces that make for cohesion, not for disruption. The greater the independence of judgment, the deeper the insight that education gives, the clearer must be the preception of these truths.

It is not meant in anything that has been said to question that the political developments of the last twenty years have given grave cause for anxiety and that their association with higher education in any sense is deeply to be regretted. We can no longer speak with the confidence of Sir Roper Lethbridge in defending "High Education in India" in 1882, when he wrote: "And for contradiction of the vague and unauthenticated aspersions on the character of the highly-educated section of the Indian community for loyalty, for morality, for religion generally, we need only look to the tone and character of that portion of the periodical press that is conducted and written by such men." This we certainly can no longer say: but here in the rapid depravation of an uncontrolled press, we have (as I think Mr. Chirol himself shows) the real propagating agency of the gathering mischief, and not in education: and the regulation of the press, now that it has been firmly taken in hand, is already working a remedy.

XVIII—CONCLUSIONS

The endeavour has now been made to follow the history of the educational system established in India from its beginnings and the verdict on the whole, with plain and specific deductions, is favourable. At every critical stage weight has been given to opposing considerations and the conclusion at every stage is that practically no other course was possible than that which was taken. When enlightened Bengali gentlemen started the Hindu College and a little later on asked for the help and support of Government, Government did rightly in giving the financial aid asked for and could not consistently with its position and responsibilities have done otherwise. When the question was raised whether it was more expedient for higher education that the study of English should be encouraged or whether State aid should be confined to Arabic and Sanskrit, the decision given in 1835 in favour of English was the right decision. When twenty-two years later universities were founded, though plausible reasons were given at the time for considering such a high enterprise premature, the practical economic success of the universities and the effects produced intellectually and morally in the course of a generation prove that the fears expressed before 1857 were mistaken, that universities met a real want and that the progress attained justified their institution. A more doubtful judgment must be passed on the adoption of one of the recommendations of the Commission of 1882, that namely the withdrawal of Government from the direct control of higher education : but as that has been materially modified since, especially by the operation of the Universities Act of 1904, less need be said about the error. Well-intentioned as was the recommendation to encourage educational progress mainly through grants-in-aid, the actual result undoubtedly was to bring into existence numbers of institutions imperfectly staffed, equipped and financed, with the further result of a tendency to pull down educational standards. Efforts have been made in the years since 1901 to correct this tendency. The complaint that moral and religious education has been neglected is partly unjustified by the facts, because it has from the first been a part of the educational aim to train character as well as to impart knowledge; and further Government has not failed to call special attention to the importance of this side of education. It is partly due to misapprehension of the circumstances and failure to recognize the inevitable limitations imposed by the conditions under which the work of education in India is carried on.

The grand charge against education now is that the system as a whole is mainly responsible for the embitterment of political feeling in recent years and for the rancorous expression of disaffection in speech and writing : finally that the responsibility for revolutionary crime is to be added to the account. This will be found to be a charge grossly mis-stated and in this unqualified form inadmissible. Political disaffection is due to political causes, not primarily to education. There is confusion between disaffection and the effective expression of disaffection. Education enables the disaffected to express themselves more effectively, but it is not except in a minor degree itself a cause of disaffection. Revolutionary crime has been recklessly ascribed to the "student class" ; but

this is a very loose and careless ascription. If enquiry be made into the histories and antecedents of youths who have figured as the leading actors in the wretched conspiracies and outrages which have troubled the peace of the two Bengals and of Bombay, it will be found that only a small proportion of them are to be characterised as "students" in the sense ordinarily recognised by those connected with education. Students in the strict sense are undergraduates who have passed the Matriculation examination of one of the universities and are actually studying in some unaffiliated college. The name may with more propriety be extended to include boys in the upper classes of high schools who are undergoing a training which leads to university study. Not every youth who has been to school and knows a little English is to be reckoned a student, nor should the evil doings of young men who draw ill lessons from mis-study of the *Gita* be put to the account of English education. A great wrong has in public opinion been done in this matter. The real body of students, whatever the precise temperature of their loyalty, and whatever their occasional readiness to flock to listen to public speakers of repute, are neither revolutionaries, nor conspirators; nor are colleges hot-beds of sedition, unless the frequent absence of a warm affection for English things and persons and a weak tendency to compare western "materialism" to its disadvantage with the assumed "spirituality" of the East merit such a designation. So far as I know, not a single trained chemist has had a hand in the manufacture of a bomb; nor are the leaders of fancy dacoit bands men who have won scholarships, or who aspire to university Honours. No, the whole force of real education is opposed to violence and crooked methods. Culture—and after all education in India aims at culture—as Mathew Arnold says, "hates hatred; culture has but one great passion, the passion for sweetness and light."

It is not true, then, it cannot be true, that education, the cultivation of intellectual excellence and the endeavour to give efficacy in conduct to the highest motives, tends in India to produce virulent enemies of a just and righteous administration, still less reckless fanatics, ripe for any crime in the name of revolution. If there is any truth at all in the ascription of some hurtful effects to the educational system in working, it is true only in a carefully qualified sense and in strictness due not to education, but to defect of education, yet even were the charge truer than it is, education must go on, because (as all agree) it cannot now be stopped; and must go on mainly on the lines already laid; so that the practical problem would be how to make the best of it; not how to change it practically, but how to remove imperfections, amend and strengthen. The moral in the end is that the effort to promote the true ends of education must not be slackened, but redoubled. The remedy lies not in coming to a stop and beginning again, but in steady and more careful advance on the lines laid. In one sense a new departure is called for. Such a putting forth of effort is required as would practically raise the whole work of education to a higher plane. Aims and motives have not been high enough, not sincere enough, not thorough enough. In particular is this true of the side of education which touches character.

For there are, on the other hand, very manifest imperfections, which incidentally this inquiry has brought out, in the system of

education as it now is ; imperfections which may be remedied and which it should be the business of statesmanship to remedy as far as carefully thought out measures can find remedy.

First and most important is the strengthening of the moral side of education in colleges and schools. Moral education has not been overlooked. It has been the direct concern of Government policy all along, and it has latterly exercised the anxious thought of all taking part in the work of education. Yet certainly enough has not been done. For this the surpassing difficulties of the task attempted is very largely responsible. But along with that and all the more because of that, it must be realized that the attempt has failed partly because it has been made on too low a plane. The potent aid of religion is denied as we have concluded, in Indian education. But the moral relations themselves are sacred and the teacher's calling is a sacred calling. Have we made all that is possible of positive duty, of the personal influence of the teacher; of the restraints and impulses of school and college discipline? The well-organized college or school, that image of a state in miniature, founded as it should be in righteousness regulated in all its parts for the general good and the attainment of high ends outside self, is a capital instrument of moral education. Loyalty to the teacher, loyalty to the school, loyalty to the college, these are motive forces with great potency for moulding and strengthening character, if rightly wielded.

Secondly, it is clear from what has just been said, that only through the personal influence of the teacher can these great moral results be attained. A high moral tone cannot be communicated to an institution by any rescript, decree or ordinance of State. Rightly devised rules of life will do a great deal, but even these must be informed by the right spirit; a mere lifeless conformity will effect little; even the conformity is sure to be lax without a desire to conform. The right spirit must grow up among the body of students and can be communicated, so far as it is capable of communication, only by the teachers. So the ideals of the teachers and the faithfulness with which they live by them are the real source of moral vitality of schools and colleges.

But how, thirdly, in soberness can the policy of the State affect the ideals of teachers appointed for work in schools and colleges? Is not this to ask something that belongs to quite a different category from departmental machinery? It might be asked in reply what effort has ever been made to raise the men engaged in England for educational work in India to a consciousness of the greatness of the task to which they are invited and the character of the responsibilities to be laid upon them. Is any history of that work, any account of its claims and opportunities and difficulties, ever put before applicants? This might at least be considered before it is concluded that all that is possible has been done towards securing the right attitude of mind in the men brought by the State to India to take the lead in educational work.

In India still more, fourthly, might a genuine desire to raise the status of the teacher manifest itself actively. It may seem inconsistent to talk of emoluments and prospects, when the question is of ideals and character. Yet emoluments and status are certainly closely connected in India (perhaps even more than in other countries) and it might be well on grounds other than commercial

to improve the emoluments and prospects of all classes of educational workers. Is the status of the teacher satisfactory now? For answer, consult heads of colleges and professors, head-masters and inspectors of schools, as to the social recognition publicly accorded to them. Indian dutifulness once held teachers venerable and worthy of the highest respect. Does it do so now? There is room for amendment both of State policy and public demeanour in this matter; and amendment in this matter would strengthen the hands of teachers for the work they are told to do.

Fifthly, another direction in which we may look with great hopefulness is the development of college and school as institutions. When fully developed the sentiment called forth by the institution may be even more powerful in its sway over conduct than the influence of individual teachers. Here a departmental system is to some extent a hindrance, because to a department a college or school is necessarily not a self-contained whole, but one member of a group. Recent tendencies, however, have all been in the direction of giving fuller recognition to the organic units of the institution and a measure of autonomy is already attained by the colleges within the bounds of the department. It is on this ground that students, being uncared for and insufficiently supervised in masses, are exposed to dangers, physical and moral, that the immediate prospect of a large provision of hostels in Calcutta is so greatly a matter of congratulation. In order that the full benefit may be realized, it is essential that this provision of hostels should be based on the unity of the college as an institution. This is indeed part of the ideal of the complete residential college, now fully accepted by the University. The members of the college not only study in the same class rooms, but share a social life which extends to all three sides of education,—intellectual, physical and moral.

Lastly, the greatest need and the greatest hope for higher education in a broad sense lies in a recognition in the near future of the comparative neglect from which school education has long suffered and the adoption of a systematic policy of giving the schools their rightful place in national education. The hopefulness consists in this that so much more can be done with school-boys. The habits, intellectual and moral, formed in the earlier years count more than later influences. If the schools lay the foundations of character and intellectual life wrongly, hardly can four or even six years at college repair the mischief; but if the schools do their work adequately and well, the chief obstacles in the way of success in college education will have been cleared away.

The whole problem of education in India is so vast that only some of its aspects have been treated in these papers, and that cursorily. On the main questions I venture to think the answer is complete. The work of Government and of the Education Departments is vindicated. This vindication holds as against the impertinence of advanced political thinkers who complain that too little has been done and grasp at a hasty realization of the ends towards which the educational process is working before the work of training is sufficiently advanced; and also against the one-sided condemnation of critics who pay disproportionate attention to the morbid products of a vast intellectual and moral transmutation and decline to see to what extent these are merely incidental to a

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process in itself essentially healthy and beneficial. It appears that the policy of the Government of India from the beginning of the nineteenth century to the present day has in the main been justified by its results as well as in its inception; that no startling reversal of policy is called for, not even any radical change in the direction of its leading activities. Improvement in the details, expansion all along the line, more liberal employment of funds, these are wanted, as they always have been wanted. For the rest, the watchword is "Forward" and not "Back"; "Courage" and not words of doubt and despondency. The movement is greater than the men who have taken part in it. Individuals may doubt and repine at what has been done in their name and by their means. But this work of education *is* the work of the British in India. The spirit of it is in the race and works in spite of the individuals who do not understand it and cavil at it. It has spoken out from time to time in the words of some master mind and stands recorded in the great public documents which express the avowed policy of the State.

LEADING THOUGHTS ON INDIAN QUESTIONS

PROTECTION OR IMPERIAL PREFERENCE

It will be in the recollection of our readers that some years ago Sir Roper Lethbridge contributed a series of articles to the *Englishman* advocating Imperial preference as the only patriotic and the only possible 'Swadeshi' policy for India. Sir Roper has since then contributed more than one article on this subject to a pretty large number of English and Indian magazines. Indeed, of all retired Anglo-Indians in London none has done more to bring the question of imperial preference for India so much before public attention as Sir Roper Lethbridge. His article on "India and Imperial Preference" contributed to the February *Indian Review* is mainly devoted to the consideration of the relative merits of the rival fiscal systems viz., free trade, protection and preference, with reference to the conditions of Indian trade and industry.

The so-called free trade principles which have been thrust upon India have, far from being beneficial, proved positively injurious to the nascent industries of India. Sir Roper says :

"Free Trade might be all very well for India if she enjoyed *real* Free Trade, both for her own traders and for foreign traders. But what can be said for a system, under which India is compelled not only to admit Japanese and German and other protected and subsidised goods at the same nominal rate of duty that is applied to unprotected British goods, not only to inflict on her producers a precisely equivalent excise duty in order not to injure the poor foreigner, but also to submit to almost prohibitive import duties being imposed on Indian goods when they are sent for sale to foreign market ?"

Protection, in the opinion of Sir Roper Lethbridge, does not afford any real solution to the problem. With regard to its possibilities he remarks :

"Protection might be all very well for India, if she were fully equipped to supply her own needs—and if further, she were in such an economic position as not to need help from England in the way of cheap capital and skilled technical instruction. But in present circumstances, Protection in its extreme form would mean an enormous increase in the cost of clothing and of some other necessities of life, and of most other comforts of life in India,

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while it would simply ruin Lancashire and other industrial centres in England, and cause the deepest resentment between the United Kingdom and India, the two most important States in the British Empire."

Sir Roper next considers the proposal of the free trader who would simultaneously abolish both the excise duty on Indian goods and the import duties on British and foreign goods. But he is unable to support it because, far from improving the possibilities for Indian infant industries, it would hand the trade over bodily to the protected and subsidised foreign importer and further it would deprive India of revenue that she cannot do without, and cannot otherwise obtain on free trade principles except at the cost of grievous suffering.

Sir Roper refuses to entertain the proposal of the Protectionist who demands the abolition of the excise duties, while retaining the duties both on British and foreign imports, because (1) it would never be assented to by the British Parliament and because (2) it would be an unfriendly act to the working classes of England and Scotland.

Free trade being injurious and Protection impossible, Sir Roper Lethbridge falls back upon Imperial Preference, which to quote his own words is the 'via Media' between the two extreme courses, viz., Free trade and Protection. He says :

"There remains, then, the solution that is offered by Imperial Preference—that the Indian excise duty and the import duty on British and colonial goods should be simultaneously abolished, while the import duty on foreign goods should be retained, both for protective and for revenue purposes. And as the import duty on foreign goods, if retained at a moderate rate, would not be sufficient entirely to recoup India for the loss of revenue caused by the remission of the duties on Indian, British, and colonial goods, the deficit should be made good by an export duty on raw jute—which is an Indian monopoly—when exported to foreign countries outside the British Empire, it being observed that those foreign countries cannot possibly do without the raw jute (so long as the tax is not so heavy as to permit no other fibres competing), and must therefore unquestionably pay the Indian export duty.

"And further, as the remission of the Indian import duties on British goods would be an act of grace on the part of India towards England and the rest of the Empire, that act of grace should receive the most substantial return that can be devised. Indian goods of all kinds—not merely food-stuffs and raw materials, but

also manufactured goods—should obtain, in return for this act of grace, a substantial fiscal preference in all parts of the Empire. For instance, there is at present an enormous consumption of gunny-bags and other jute manufactures in all British Colonies, used for sacks for produce and other purposes,—and some, at least, of demand, which is a rapidly growing one is supplied by the jute-mills of foreign protected countries. A substantial fiscal preference would at once give the command of this trade to the jute-mills of Calcutta and Dundee."

Sir Roper Lethbridge concludes his article by summarising the assured benefits of Imperial Preference in the following words :

"Now, this is obviously a solution that would be beneficial to India in every way. Her industries would be enormously stimulated both for home consumption and for export. The competition of untaxed British goods would prevent any injury to the consumer—and in the case of the cotton-clothing of the masses, it would appreciably cheapen it. And this solution would have the additional recommendation that it would also benefit, instead of injuring, British industries."

REV. C. F. ANDREWS ON INDIAN NATIONALITY

That well-known friend of India, Rev. C.F. Andrews of Delhi, is contributing to the *Hindustan Review* a remarkable series of articles on Lord Acton's historical and political theories with special reference to India. In the January number he dwelt on his Lordship's theory of Liberty, and in the light of that theory tried to show "that the area of liberty in India is greater than is generally supposed and that there is ample room for progress." Rev. Andrews holds that the religious neutrality guaranteed by the present form of government gives back in one area of political life the freedom which is curtailed in another ; and he says that as two great religious communities live side by side in India, there is a potent force in the development of social liberty here.

In the February number Rev. Andrews discusses Lord Acton's theory of nationality and its bearing on modern Indian politics. He summarises Lord Acton's conclusions in this way :—"If 'liberty for the realisation of moral duties' is the chief end of politics, then those States are substantially the most advanced which include various nationalities without oppressing them. Those in which no mixture of races has occurred are imperfect, and those in which the effects of mixture have disappeared are decrepit. A State

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which cannot fulfil its duty to different races is self-condemned. A State which endeavours by force to neutralise distinctions, instead of harmonising them, is self-destructive. A State which so limits its boundaries as to exclude such differences is in danger of losing its chief basis of self-government and independence."

Rev. Andrews proceeds to examine the present state of India in the light of these conclusions and says :—

"The political ideal, which has been held up before India during countless generations of the past, has been exceptionally high. Just as Christianity attempted during the middle ages to provide a common civilisation for Western Europe on the basis of which the various nations and races might combine in a common State, in the same manner Hinduism provided during many centuries, a common civilisation for India, which has made and still makes the Indian continent a political unity in spite of a thousand disintegrating forces. In India the problem of a united and inclusive civilisation was attempted. The comparatively easier problem of exclusive nationalities was left partly on one side. To Hinduism, with its offshoot of early Buddhism, belongs this great glory, that it was not content with a narrow racial boundary, but included the whole continent in its embrace from the Himalayas to the furthest shores of Ceylon. There are few more imposing spectacles in history than this silent, peaceful penetration of Hindu civilisation, till the furthest bounds of India were reached. And the effects of this penetration were not transient. It is the Hindu spirit which has unified the continent. Even the Mahomedan conquests and the British supremacy have done little more than add touches of light and shade to the back-ground of Hinduism which has coloured the whole soil of India."

"If Lord Acton's theory, therefore, is right, and a mixture of races under the shelter of a common civilisation is a higher ideal than that of exclusive nationality, India has, in the Divine Providence which guides the course of history, been blessed indeed. She has not been content with a low standard of temporary success ; she has strained after that unity of which her philosophy is ever dreaming. Her passionate pilgrim's quest for the One without a second, which is the note of the Upanishads and the Vedanta, has not been impractical, as has been so often falsely asserted. It has moulded history. If India has never adequately realised her ideal, it has been, what Browning would call, the high failure which overleaps low success."

"All the suffering, the sadness, the gloom of Indian history

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(from one point of view the saddest in the world) is lighted up with this ray of hope. The striving for unity has not been purposeless. The best is yet to be. The future has still to reap the harvest of suffering and tears."

" India presents to-day a richer field for political and national achievement than China with her homogeneous millions, or even Japan with her racially united population. That very congeries of races, which is the taunt of India's enemies when the cry is raised that she can never be a nation, is really her crown of promise, her pledge of a higher ultimate success."

This is the more hopeful side of the Indian situation. "There is another side, a side of failure, which no true lover of India will minimise."

Says Rev. Andrews: "The most damaging fact in Indian history has been the treatment meted out to the aboriginal tribes and the edifice of caste which has been built in consequence."

This 'edifice of caste' must go. The mistake of the past must have to be rectified; and it may be, that in order to give the very shock needed to electrify the dormant energies of India's own children, God has ordained that "a tiny body of men from a distant island in the North," should take "for the time being, the reins of government." If the old definition of nationality, as dependent on race and race alone, were to hold good, the presence of this body of men might have been said to be a curse. But with Lord Acton's definition before us of a nationality, moral and political, rather than physical and geographical, there may be a supremely important place for this new heterogeneous element. "It may have been intended to form the small nucleus of foreign matter, which sets in movement the wonderful process of crystallisation in a society that had all too long been held in solution by mutually exclusive forces. India might never have faced the problem of the depressed classes, and the great problem of caste itself, if it had not been stirred by the impact of ideas from the west."

There remains another problem—the Hindu-Mussulman problem—the final problem of Indian nationality, "more difficult of solution than all that have gone before." The question is,—Has the Muhammadan invasion and settlement produced a living organism, which may, in the long run, be assimilated, without loss of its own identity, in the greater living organism of India herself, or will the Muhammadan community always remain an unassimilated factor?

On the right solution of this lies the salvation of India.

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"If an Indian Nation in the wider sense of the term is to be built at all, the Hindu community from its side must aim higher than a nationality based on the exclusive claims of Hindu race and religion. Above all, that caste exclusiveness which hinders social co-operation, must be discarded as an outworn garment suited only for an earlier stage of civilisation. Secondly, the Mussulman community must regard India, politically as well as socially, as the home of their adoption and refuse to stand apart, even by a hair's breadth, from the full, blowing tide of progressive national life. If on both sides the ultimate goal of an inclusive Indian nationality were accepted, then the differentiation between the two communities would be the greatest boon, making for national liberty. It would be possible to share, without loss of individuality on either side, a common life of public service. All the great questions of high public interest are already identical,—education, health, municipal improvement, landtenure, the elevation of the masses and the like. The hope may be cherished that the ideal of an inclusive Indian nationality will also become a common possession, and that no temporary bitterness, or rivalry, or faction, or fanaticism will be allowed to prevent its consummation."

We, too, join him fervently in this hope.

BANKING IN INDIA

An exceedingly able paper on this subject was read by Mr. Reginald Murray before the Indian section of the Royal Society of Arts on January 19, Sir Felix Schuster presiding. Mr. Murray is well known as an authority on practical banking in India and has written much upon the subject in various directions, including the *Bankers' Magazine*. We hope that the paper *in extenso* will be published in a form so that Indian economists may be able to peruse the whole of the interesting information given by Mr. Murray, the extracts which we published in our last issue by no means dealing with all of the points covered in Mr. Murray's lecture. At the outset, Mr. Murray stated that it was his purpose to describe conditions of trade finance in India before joint-stock banking became a permanent factor, and to deal with various incidents during the last 50 years contributing to the set-back in its credit, and also to set forth reasons why, in his opinion, India as a field for investment offers greater opportunities for the investment of sterling capital than has hitherto been recognised. Some of Mr. Murray's remarks

on these various points may be gathered from the following summarised extracts from his paper :—

Until the English system of banking was introduced in the interior as well as at the coast ports of India, trade was financed chiefly by a class known as “banias,” hailing for the most part from the Province of Marwar, who combined trading with money-lending and finance. In addition to these there were the Chetties of Southern India, who were more money-lenders than traders, and the Bhattias and Parsis of Bombay and Guzerat, who were almost exclusively traders. It has also to be borne in mind that nearly every native of India, more especially perhaps in Bengal, is a money-lender at high rates of interest to needy neighbours whenever he has more cash in hand than he requires for his own immediate wants. Money-lenders on a large scale are called Sahucars and Mahajans. All such money-lending continues, but the finance for the transport of merchandise from one part of the country to another is now passing more and more into the hands of the joint-stock banks, and the money-lenders themselves are making use of these banks for deposit and remittance. Where there are still no banks, as in the agricultural districts, the old money-bag system still prevails, a system which may be termed plutocratic. For by it the possession of money is individualised and distributed slowly within contracted circles, while the joint-stock banking system is democratic, collecting and distributing impartially from and to a large portion of the whole of India. Under the old system, if high rates of interest or some fancied form of security were not available, the money-lender would sit tight on his money bags. At time he would be advised by his Jogi or Sunyasi, or holy ascetic, that it was an unpropitious time to invest. Some persons, especially large zemindars, believed it added to their importance and popularity to display huge piles of money bags on rent days and festive occasions. One way and another, before the introduction of the joint-stock banking system, the total amount of currency lying idle must have often exceeded Rs. 50 crores, or five hundred million rupees (£33,000,000).

For holding or hoarding purposes coin and bullion were preferred, and it can therefore be easily understood how much time and trouble it took to count and weigh them when they were being taken into the hoard, and how slow and laborious was the task of restoring them to circulation ; consequently, how inelastic was the finance of trade, and how the system encouraged—and still encourages, where it is continued—organised bands of dacoits or armed robbers.

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"With regard to set-backs of confidence which have done so much to discourage London capitalists from embarking in Indian enterprise, I would refer you to the serious collapse of India's credit produced in 1866 by the extraneous influence of the cessation of the American Civil War. I might have first mentioned the Indian Mutiny of 1857, but that was before my time, and the set-back was not so important, as trade at that time had not been opened up to large proportions by the construction of the Suez Canal and the extension of Indian railways.

"Still, notwithstanding the evidence of India's subsequent prosperity, it is apparent that either distance or the more attractive gilding of mining ventures elsewhere, or Chilian nitrates or rubber or humanitarian exaggeration, have in some way contributed towards raising the mirage of another mutiny on the Indian horizon.

"The next set-back to India's credit in London was the instability of the exchange between India and England. Up to the year 1870 change seldom fell below 1s. 10d. per rupee, the par being 2s. Thereafter, commencing with the demonetisation of silver in Germany, the price of silver began to fall. By 1876 the gold value of the rupee had fallen to 1s. 6d., in 1886 to 1s. 4d., in 1890 to 1s. 2d., and in 1893, about the time the mints were closed or a few months later, transactions were reported in the neighbourhood of 1s. 0¾d. During these years the United States made strenuous efforts to resist the fall of the metal which was so seriously affecting their own country, but the steps taken of buying up large quantities of silver had only the effect of disclosing supplies more than equal to the demand, and greater collapse ensued as soon as their buying ceased. The wide and violent fluctuation in the sterling rate of the rupee affected trade in India by making it more subservient to exchange than responsive to supply and demand; it restrained sterling capital from flowing to India owing to the prospect of redemption at a loss; and it made the fiscal policy of the Indian Government the sport of the elements. The remedy of closing the mints, and subsequent legislation upholding the value of the rupee at 1s. 4d., has been completely successful, and owes its organisation in a large measure to the able and masterly advocacy of an Indian banker, the late Mr. A. M. Lindsay, of the Bank of Bengal."

The complete success of the reformed system of Indian currency was triumphantly proved during the crisis of 1907-8, and there is no longer any reason why fear of instability should deter the flow of sterling capital to India.

Now, when every cause of alarm engendered by previous circumstances should have been allayed, India is again set back by a catch-phrase derived from the headlines of newspapers, "Unrest in India," a flare to distort the countenances of political adversaries. Such a phrase may be termed applicable, but if it is applied to the condition of India, and more especially to Indian trade and financial stability, there is no more tune in it than in a watchman's whistle.

"It is sometimes said that the acts of violence and seditious propaganda of a few ill-balanced Indians are the result of western education. But what I am more sure of from my own experience of forty years in the East, spent mostly in India, is that western education and association with Western thought has taught them much better than they had realised before what pays, and it has taught them to appreciate a better style of living and freer opportunities of enjoyment. They have no ambition to go back to the days when famine was unrelieved, and when bands of freebooting sepoys spread over the land, looting as they went.

"Until 1809 there was no chartered or joint-stock banks on modern lines in India. The mercantile houses acted as private bankers for Europeans, and the Indian shroffs conducted the trade finance. Indians universally kept each his own money in his own house. The first chartered bank was the Bank of Bengal, which received its charter from the East India Company in 1806. The Governor-General at that time was Lord Minto, the distinguished grandfather of the Viceroy who has just retired, to enjoy, we may hope, many years of leisure and the well-merited thanks of his countrymen after five years of arduous and successful work under unusually difficult and almost exasperating circumstances. The fact that at least twelve new Indian banks were incorporated under the Act, and that there was such an extensive development of trade and finance during those five years, as I will presently show you, is evidence of the confidence reposed in Lord Minto's administration, as is also the fact that the so-called "unrest in India" had no more effect upon local credit than it had upon his patience and unbiassed discretion.

"The first Bank of Bombay was established under a similar charter in 1840, and the Bank of Madras in 1843. Under the early charters the Government was a shareholder to the extent of about one-tenth of the capital. The banks were authorised to issue notes against a proportion of Government securities lodged with an Accountant-General, and the Government exercised the right to

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nominate three officials on the board of directors. The circulation of notes up to 1862 appears never to have exceeded Rs. 21½ crores in Bombay, and Rs. 20 lacs in Madras. In 1862 the privilege of issue was withdrawn from the banks and the note circulation from and after that year has been issued solely and exclusively by the Government. At first the banks, now known as the Presidency Banks, were employed as the departments of issue and payment of the Government currency notes; but in 1867, after the commercial crisis, the Government set up a separate currency office where the entire control of the note circulation and of the reserves held against the same is separately administered. The total active note circulation, according to recently published statements, is about Rs. 53 crores, as against Rs. 13 crores in 1890, and Rs. 9 crores in 1870. The reserve held by the currency office at the present time is Rs. 41 crores in coin and bullion, Rs. 10 crores in Indian Government securities, and the equivalent of Rs. 2 crores in English Government securities.

"Statement of the circulation and the reserves held are published weekly, and it is difficult to conceive a more perfect, and more public, and more automatic system, one which bears constant evidence of redemption at call, and which contracts and expands exactly according to the requirements of the community, no more and no less . . .

"Of the banks with sterling and dollar capital and head offices in London and China, there are now existing only four of those which were existing in 1870 and earlier, and only one now existing was added up to the end of 1909, since when one more has commenced business . . .

"Forty years ago there was only one continental or foreign bank represented by branch establishments in British India, now there are five.

The Presidency Banks had forty-six branches in 1870, thirty-eight in 1890, and fifty-three in 1910. The banks incorporated in India other than the Presidency Banks have, with few exceptions, been established during the last twenty years. There were two with two branches in 1870, five with sixteen branches in 1890, and thirty-five with 220 branches in 1910. Of the last named, sixteen had capitals of Rs. 5 lacs and upwards, with 161 branches, and nineteen had capitals of less than Rs. 5 lacs, with fifty-nine branches. . . ."

After dealing exhaustively with a mass of statistics elaborated in an appendix to his paper, Mr. Murray dealt, in conclusion

with the prospects of banking in India, concerning which he took a decidedly hopeful view. He said :—

I foresee that the banking progress, great and rapid as it has been, is only a commencement. The volume of deposits will increase in those towns where banks have already been established, and will certainly be stimulated if some of the smaller banks amalgamate with each other or with larger ones. When you consider that the eleven leading joint-stock banks in London alone have 2,588 bank offices and £474,000,000 in current and fixed deposit accounts, and allow for the larger population and smaller individual wealth in India, as being, for the sake of comparison, a set-off one against the other, the only conclusion can be that banking in India, though showing signs of vigorous growth, is still in its swaddling clothes.

What may and should attract banks to agricultural districts is the growing popularity of co-operative credit societies. By advancing to these societies a fair interest would be obtained, and, as argued below, it should be an advantage to the Government to assure such advances against loss. I am entitled to speak about co-operative credit societies, because I had the honour to serve on the committee which framed the Bill, and I am therefore fully cognisant of the objects and reasons and all that these societies were hoped to effect. It was naturally some years before they could be explained and understood in more than a few districts. The stout, but by no means obstinate, conservatism of the agriculturist had to be satisfied that the innovation was for his benefit. He had to gain confidence in his own powers to administer his own village finance ; to rely upon himself and not upon the money-lender. The latest reports indicate that the system has now, so to speak, " caught on," and, if so, it is likely to spread all over the continent of India. Everything will depend upon the funds forthcoming to give these societies a start, and in this I think joint-stock banks may find it profitable to take some share. I believe that some advances have been made by the Government, and others by syndicates of zemindars and wealthy tenants who are interested in the good cultivation of their lands. But such advances will cover a comparatively small number of societies, and if, as appears probable, further aid will be necessary, an inducement to joint-stock banks to come in would be offered if the Government could guarantee the advances. . . .

Before concluding, I think I may usefully state what my experience and observation suggest as steps needful to be taken to

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safeguard progress from the perils to which a too hasty advance is liable to give birth. A common caution, which, though not always practised, is probably more respected in commercial than in political circles, is "look before you leap." In commerce and banking, Credit, with a capital C, is the great regulator. It has been said that Credit lives at No. 1 in the World. If it is abused the abuser suffers. It is a solid, unchangeable and impartial standard of commercial soundness and thoroughness, and is impervious to the attacks of malcontents and the ignorance of popular clamour. Its veto cannot be disputed.

Reverting to my suggestions, I think it may be desirable that the Government of India should consider the advisability of refusing to register banks with less than a minimum of paid-up capital. Some proportion should be fixed between the amount of capital (including reserves) and the amount of deposits. Deposits stand in relation to the public in much the same position as bank or Government currency notes, for which an adequate reserve is universally enforced. It would be very undesirable that the Government of India should enforce safeguards by means of an inquisitorial department, but there is no reason why an Act controlling joint-stock banks should not be passed. The Indian Companies Act of 1882, under which banks are classed promiscuously with other joint-stock companies, is, in many instances, unsuitable for modern banks. The nature of a bank's business is, in some respects, the antithesis of that of other joint-stock companies. The business of the former is to lend, of the latter to borrow; the one to grant and protect credit, the others to exploit it. One Act cannot be worded to conform to both classes of companies, and, moreover, banks, as I have pointed out, need some special safeguarding clauses.

THE PLACE OF THE INDIAN IN THE INDIAN PUBLIC SERVICE

On the 27th of March last Mr. Subba Rao moved in the Imperial Council:—"That this Council recommends that a mixed Commission consisting of officials and non-officials be appointed to consider the claims of Indians to higher and more extensive employment in the Public Service connected with the civil administration of the Country." . . .

In moving this resolution he made an excellent speech the principal points of which are noticed below:—

"There are four important landmarks in the history of the

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Public Service in India. The Statute of 1833, the Proclamation of 1858, the Statute of 1870, and the appointment of the Public Service Commission mark the different stages—all directed towards the sole object of associating the people with the real administration of the country. But the steps taken so far have not been successful in securing the end in view and giving satisfaction to the people."

"Till the year 1833 the East India Company was both a commercial and political body. In that year its monopoly in trade was finally abolished and the Company thenceforward exercised only administrative and political powers. In that year was also abolished the monopoly of office by which Indians had been excluded from the principal offices under the Government, and Section 17 of the Statute of 1833 was enacted for that purpose."

"The Court of Directors, in forwarding a copy of this Statute to the Government of India, observed :—'The meaning of the enactment we take to be that there shall be no governing caste in British India ; that whatever other tests of qualification may be adopted, distinctions of race or religion shall not be of the number.'

"They emphasized that not race but "fitness is henceforth to be the criterion of eligibility" for public offices. Notwithstanding these noble declarations, no effect was given to the clause."

"In 1853 the system of nomination and patronage was abolished and the principal civil appointments were thrown open to competition, but the centre of examination for admission to the Civil Service was fixed in England. That system has continued up to date."

"In 1858, the Government of the country was taken over by the Crown, when the noble Proclamation of Her Gracious Majesty, Queen Victoria, was issued, laying down the true principles by which the government of this country could be carried on with safety—a Proclamation which was described by the late King-Emperor as 'the Great Charter of 1858.'"

"Shortly after the Secretary of State appointed a Committee of five members of his Council, all distinguished Anglo-Indians, to consider the subject. They reported on the 14th of January 1860 that to do justice to the claims of Indians, simultaneous examinations should be held in England and India, 'as being the fairest and the most in accordance with the principles of a general competition for a common object.' But practically nothing came out of it."

"After prolonged correspondence, Section 6 of the Statute of

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1870 was enacted. It empowered the Government of India and the Secretary of State in Council, acting together, to frame rules under which natives of India may be admitted to any of the offices hitherto restricted to the Covenanted Civil Service." In moving the second reading of the Bill on the 11th of March 1869, His Grace the Duke of Argyll said :—

" With regard, however, to the employment of Natives in the government of their country in the Covenanted Service, formerly of the Company, and now of the Crown, I must say that we have not fulfilled our duty, or the promises and engagements which we have made."

The Statute was enacted, but the Government of India took nearly nine years to frame workable rules under the Statute. Lord Lytton summed upon the situation up to that time in these words :—

I do not hesitate to say that both the Governments of England and of India appear to me, up to the present moment, unable to answer satisfactorily the charge of having taken every means in their power of breaking to the heart the words of promise they had uttered to the ear."

" At last the Government of India in 1878 discussed the whole question afresh and recommended to the Secretary of State, among other things the establishment of a *close Native Civil Service*, to which should be transferred a proportion of the posts reserved for the Covenanted Service with a proportion of those held by the Uncovenanted Service. The then Secretary of State vetoed these proposals to constitute a close Native Service, and suggested that the annual recruitment in England to the Covenanted Civil Service might be reduced by a certain proportion and that Indians might be annually appointed to such places. He pointed out that one of the advantages of such a scheme was that it would place the Indians on a footing of social equality with the members of the Covenanted Civil Service. He suggested further that the salary of every office might be determined " at a fixed amount," to which might be added in the case of covenanted English Civilians " the rate sufficient to make up the present salaries under some neutral denomination." The Government of India, while expressing its regret that the scheme for a new close Native Civil Service could not be accepted, submitted rules by which they provided that a proportion not exceeding one-fifth of the recruits appointed from England in any one year should be Indians selected in India. These rules were published in 1879. But the system of Statutory

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Civilians failed to give satisfaction, as no steps were taken to secure the best men in the country, and as more importance was attached in the selection of candidates to birth and social position than to intellectual fitness."

"The whole question was once more reopened, and in 1886 the Public Service Commission was appointed to devise a scheme which may reasonably be hoped to possess the necessary elements of finality and to do full justice to the claims of Natives of India to higher and more extensive employment in the Public Service."

As the final outcome of the labours of the Public Service Commission we have :—(1) First of all, in spite of the Statutes of 1830 and 1870, the reservation of the higher offices of the State to a particular class of persons recruited in England, mainly Europeans, constituting the Indian Civil Service.

(2) Next the creation of an inferior service known as the Provincial Service, filled mainly by Indians, a service characterized by Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, as the *Pariah Service*, and condemned by Mr. Chirol in no equivocal terms. The members of the Provincial Service were assigned a distinctly lower status in the service of the State, and they could not, under the rules, rise to any post higher than that of a District and Sessions Judge or District Collector, and these places are very few, one-sixth of the former and one-tenth of the latter being listed.

(3) Under the rules of 1879, one-fifth of the annual recruitment in England could be made in India by the appointment of Statutory Civilians ; whereas we have now a specific number of appointments listed as open to Indians. The number of appointments recommended by the Commission was about 108. It was reduced finally to 93. The figure now stands at 102.

(4) The differentiation into two distinct services has been carried out on the same principles in almost all the special departments of the Public Service :—Education, Public Works, Survey, Forest, Telegraph, etc., one Imperial, mainly European, and the other Provincial, mainly Indian. In some departments, rules have been so framed as to keep back Indian talent from reaching the highest places therein and seriously injure the rights of Indians.

Mr. Subba Rao then takes up particular departments to illustrate the above remarks. As regards the Education Department which was organised in 1896 he shows that, there is no chance under the rules for any Indian, unless he is recruited in England, to become the head of a college, much less a Director of Public Instruction, however eminently fitted he might be.

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As regards the Public Works Department he says :—

“ Before the department was organised in 1892, Engineers recruited in this country were treated on terms of perfect equality with those recruited in England. The pay and rank of both were the same. They were placed on the same list and had side by side promotion. In 1892, the service was differentiated into the Imperial and the Provincial and the pay of Provincial Engineers was reduced and fixed at nearly two-thirds of that of the Imperial Engineers; yet their rank was unaffected and their time scale of promotion was the same as for Imperial Engineers. The department was again reorganised in 1908. According to this scheme, the two services were made distinct and separate. There was no longer one list and side by side promotion. Each had its separate list and separate scale of promotion. According to the Imperial scale, the European Engineer became an Executive Engineer after 8 years, whereas the Provincial Engineer had to wait to rise to that grade for 15 years. In the former case his promotion was practically unconditional, whereas in the case of the latter, there must be a vacancy in the divisional charges reserved for Provincial Engineers. Again, out of a total cadre of about 953 including Railways, 280 places are allotted to the Provincial Service. The actual strength of the Provincial Service is 170, 146 in Public Works and 24 in Railways, as against 727 of the Imperial Engineers, 574 in Public Works and 153 in Railways. It may be seen easily from these facts what chance Provincial Engineers have, handicapped as they are, as against the Imperial Engineers to ever reach the higher grades of the service, that is, to the grades of Superintending and Chief Engineers. The result of the new scheme is that a Provincial Engineer of 14 years' standing would be liable to serve under any Imperial Engineer of 9 years' service. Though there was a distinct assurance given by the Resolutions of 19th July 1892 and 28th September 1893, that there would be no distinction between them and the Imperial officers as regards pay, promotion, leave and pension, yet under the new scheme of 1908, it has been ordered that their names should be removed from the list of Imperial men, that they cannot receive the promotion given to the Imperial Engineers, and in fact that they cannot be treated on the same footing as Imperial Engineers who were their compeers till 1908.”

It is the same tale in other departments.

“The latest department which was organised and that under Lord Curzon is the Customs. This is made wholly Imperial and the

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Resolution of 1906 lays down that except for the places reserved for the Indian Civil Service, the rest, *i. e.*, the Assistant Collectors, "will ordinarily be recruited in England." Since that time, however, two Indians have been appointed in this department."

"Now, turning to the rules of recruitment in England, we find that for the Public Works Department the regulations lay down that every candidate must be a British subject of European descent and at the time of birth his father must have been a British subject, either natural born or naturalized in the United Kingdom and that Natives of India who are British subjects are eligible for appointment and shall be selected to the extent of ten per cent. out of the total number of Assistant Engineers recruited, if duly qualified. That is something, but when we come to the Police, there is not even this *reservation of ten per cent.* for Indians."

"If we come to the Political Department, the recruitment is practically from officers of the Indian Army and the Indian Civil Service. Though Indians specially selected are declared to be eligible under the rules of 1875, there is only one Indian holding the post of an attache in the Secretariat."

Thus we see in how many directions the door is closed against the employment of Indians in the higher offices of the State. It is refreshing to find however that in the Accounts Departments Indians and Europeans are treated equally in all respects, in the matter of rank, pay and promotion. They are placed on one list and have promotion on the same rules and conditions.

The result has been exactly what might be expected from the constitution of the two services. Only about 7 per cent. of the appointments carrying a salary of one thousand rupees and upwards are in the hands of Indians, and almost all the high appointments of the State involving direction, initiative and supervision have been jealously kept in the hands of Europeans. The constitution of the official element in the several Legislative Councils in the country is a striking example of the effect of these rules. To take the Imperial Legislative Council, the heads of departments and their Secretaries are all Europeans, and the solitary Indian in the official ranks is the Hon'ble the Law Member, Mr. Ali Imam. Sir Thomas Munro said, "we have a whole nation from which to make our choice of Natives." Yet there is apparently in the view of the Government such a dearth of native talent in this country that it could not furnish Indians to represent different departments and interests of Government, though in the Native States responsible offices are filled with conspicuous ability by

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Indians. This is indeed a sad commentary on the labours of the Public Service Commission, which was constituted "to do full justice to the claims of Natives of India to higher and more extensive employment in the Public Service." To put shortly the net result of the Public Service Commission is to place us in a worse position than we occupied when the Public Service Commission was appointed."

In 1893 a discussion was raised in Parliament and a Resolution was passed by the House of Commons that all open competitive examinations held in England alone for appointments to the Civil Services of India should henceforth be held simultaneously both in India and England. But nothing came of it and the Resolution has been allowed to remain a dead letter.

"The plea that a very large and a gradually increasing number of appointments is held by Indians is an old one put forward under various guises. The real question is, what is the actual share which Indians have in the direction and supervision of the administration of their country. It is no answer to the question that there are thousands of appointments held by them in the lower rungs of the ladder

"This question affects vitally our self-respect and honour, the growth of national individuality, and our national well-being. It is not merely a question of careers for our young men or of rupees, annas and pies, though economy is no doubt an important consideration in carrying on the administration of a poor country like India. It is because our demands in this respect have been ignored, if not treated with contempt, that the discontent in the country has deepened.

"It was due to the courageous steps taken by Lord Minto and Lord Morley in introducing reforms in the Legislative Councils and in appointing Indians to Executive Councils that we have tided over the difficulties, and the faith of the people has been revived in the beneficent intentions of the British Raj. The reform of the Legislative Councils of this country has been welcomed more on the ground that these bodies would afford opportunities to the representatives of the people to point out the defects in the machinery of the Government and make it work more in accord with the needs and aspirations of the people. But it cannot be said to be effective unless it is immediately followed up by a reform in the administrative machinery of the Government, which has been out of repair for a good long time. Mere tinkering with it by giving a few more appointments to Indians will be of no good. The reform of

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the legislative machinery has but touched the fringe of the real question awaiting solution, which hangs on the reform in the agency for carrying on the administration of the country. This is a grievance sorely felt in the country. In fact, it is the root of the evil of discontent. Nearly a quarter of a century has elapsed since the Public Service Commission sat. India has changed considerably since those days. A new generation has grown up with new ideals and aspirations which are more vividly pulsating in the life of the people. The time is opportune to take up this problem of administrative reform and examine it in all its aspects."

"The questions that arise are :—

1. How to get out of this tangle which has been created by the Public Service Commission and all that has followed ?
2. How to secure real comradeship and mutual respect among the officers of the Public Service ?
3. How to remove the stigma of inferiority that is attached to the Provincial Service ?
4. How to give effect to the beneficent intentions of Parliament as embodied in the Statutes of 1833 and 1870 and to the spirit of the Queen's Proclamation ?
5. How to secure the willing and enthusiastic co-operation of the Indian people in the administration of the country and strengthen the foundations of British Raj in this land ?"

Mr. Subba Rao then lays down certain principles and the line of policy that should be adopted in order to accomplish these ends. He says :—

I. The first principle that should be laid down is that no appointments or class of appointments in the Public Service in all its branches, whether general or special, should be made the monopoly of any particular class of Her Majesty's subjects in India and that all appointments should be open to all classes of people.

II. If this is accepted, the rule that the chief administrative appointments of Government should be the monopoly of the Indian Civil Service recruited in England ought to be abolished. At the lowest, such appointments should for the present be shared equally between Europeans and Indians in all departments.

III. Competitive Examinations now held in England for different branches of the Public Service should be held simultaneously in both countries, and if it is not found possible, examinations of equally high standards should be instituted in this country, so that those who are selected here may command the respect of their compeers selected in England. These examina-

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tions should be open to all, and if this is not found possible, limited to nominated candidates.

IV. The system of nomination should be abolished, as its effects are demoralising and are calculated to stunt the growth of national character.

V. In the higher grades of the services, the members should not be confined to their own provinces but should as far as possible serve in other provinces.

VI. If the Provincial Service is to be retained in any form, it should be recruited on lines similar to the above Service. Where it is considered that a particular class should be represented in the service, if candidates from that class are not available in a particular Province, they might be recruited from other Provinces.

VII. Provision should be made for promotion from one service to the next higher service for officers of tried merit and ability

VIII. Where it is considered that candidates for technical appointments are not available in this country, efforts should be made to send young men to other countries to qualify themselves for such places, and it should be the endeavour of the Government as far as possible to replace foreign agency at an early date.

IX. The salary of every office should be "at a fixed amount" and in the case of a European appointed to it an extra allowance might be given, as suggested by the Secretary of State in his letter of 1878 above referred to.

"The whole question," Mr. Subba Rao went on to say, "hinges on the attitude of England towards India and the relations that should exist between the British and the Indian subjects of His Majesty. This question has been prominently attracting the attention of all those who are interested in the welfare of Great Britain and India—whether the relationship between European and Indians in this country should be one of manly comradeship and co-operation born of equal status and equal privileges, or whether it should be one of timid dependence and sycophancy born of the relationship of superior and inferior. It is a truism that real respect and comradeship can only grow out of 'common service, common emulation, and common rights impartially held.' As we solve this question, the problem before us will be solved. But this depends on the ideal that England sets before herself in the government of this country. The true ideal, however distant and impracticable it might at present appear, should be that India would in the process of time become a self-governing unit of the British Empire, enjoying the same

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rights and privileges and subject to the same duties and obligations as the other self-governing members of that Empire. If this ideal be steadily kept in view, it would not be difficult to formulate a policy that should govern the services to the satisfaction of all parties and secure the hearty co-operation of the people in the government of the country. It must be remembered that so long as manhood is dwarfed and self-respect is wounded, there can be no real contentment and real co-operation with the Government of the country."

"The problem, no doubt, is a complex one, involving many conflicting and powerful interests. It, therefore, calls for the best statesmanship and wisdom which the country can command. How the different services should be regulated and modified and how the grievances felt in each department removed is not an easy question to solve. It is, therefore, necessary that a Commission or Committee, where non-official opinion is represented, should be appointed, to evolve a scheme which would do justice to the rights of the people of this country, strengthen the foundation of British Rule and give opportunities to India to become, in course of ages it may be, a self-respecting partner in the British Empire, linked with Great Britain in silken bonds of gratitude and love."

REVIEW & NOTICES OF BOOKS

INDIA AND THE TARIFF PROBLEM

By H. B. LEES SMITH M.A. ; published by Constable & co, Ltd.
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Some years ago when Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, the premier politician of the Unionist party in England, brought forward his pet proposals of Tariff reform and Imperial Preference, and with his characteristic zeal and energy waged a regular war on their behalf, no body—none at least of the prominent politicians of England—thought for a moment that there was within the British Empire such a country as India which might have its own advantages and disadvantages, gains and losses under the scheme even as much as any other country and which ought to be considered and counted before any empire scheme was thought upon. There was tall talk all round about strengthening the bonds of union between the mother country and the Colonies by establishing ties of interest, more durable than mere ephemeral ties of love ! But India, the greatest diadem of the British Crown—well, for such paltry things as her self-interest no body cared to bother his head. But the 'blatant Babus' would not understand the beauty of it and they raised the old cry of India being neglected. Lord Curzon's Government—for his Lordship was then the presiding deity at Simla—held out no very high hopes for it and moreover hinted, if we remember aright the drift of his Lordship's reply, that should England adopt such a scheme there would not be a shadow of justification left for denying India protection for her own industries; and to boot protection against Great Britain herself. The freetraders of England who were so long silent now took the cue from the Government of India and from this time forward India figured more largely in free-trade speeches and free-trade publications. The sum and substance of all they were saying is this:— If England adopts such a scheme India will have to be given protection against Great Britain, and then the glorious British trade will come to an end.' We in India could not very much appreciate this sort of reasoning. But that is a different story. All that we are concerned with here is that the Chamberlainites in their mighty indifference or what is more probable in want of a proper answer heeded not these arguments and remained silent till Sir

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Roper Lethbridge came to the field with the theory that Imperial preference would secure for India most of the advantages, both of extreme Freetrade and of extreme Protection, without the disadvantage of either. The little book before us, though not intended to be so, is really an answer, although from one point of view only, to the Lethbridge school of politicians who would have us believe that Imperial Preference would bring salvation to India.

Prof. Lees Smith holds that India has little either to gain or lose from any scheme of preferential tariff. That India will not gain from Mr. Chamberlain's scheme is sure enough ; but it cannot so surely be said that she will not lose by it. Mr. Lees Smith has concerned himself with our exports only which are mainly raw materials. We agree that so far as these are concerned we have little either to gain or lose from Imperial Preference. A reference to the list of articles which are exported from India to Great Britain will convince us that Mr. Lees Smith is correct when he says that Great Britain can not offer any fair reciprocal advantage to India. The chief exports from India to Great Britain are:—(1) raw jute, (2) lac (3) tea (4) jute manufactures, (5) hides, (6) oil seeds, (7) raw wool, (8) raw cotton, (9) wheat, and (10) rice. Of these commodities India possesses a practical monopoly of raw jute and lac. There are no competitors to protect her from, and a preference is therefore impossible. The position of her tea industry is somewhat similar, India's only serious competitor in this industry being Ceylon which would, of course, be included equally with her in any preferential scheme. The same reasoning applies to her jute manufactures. India's only effective rival in this industry is Dundee, but as no preference will give her an advantage over British goods she has nothing to gain. As regards hides, oil seeds, raw wool and raw cotton, each of these is a necessity to the manufactures of England and any appreciable rise in prices so far as these are concerned will not be tolerated. There remain then only two commodities, viz wheat and rice, but they are articles of food of which also no substantial rise in price will be permitted in Great Britain.

Nor has India anything to gain from the colonies and the dependencies. As regards the self-governing colonies and most of the dependencies their trade with India is so small that they would hold only a very minor place in any scheme of preferences with India. Ceylon, the Straits Settlements and Mauritius are the only places with which Indian trade assumes proportions large enough to demand consideration. All of them draw large supplies of

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rice from India for their plantation coolies. But she has a practical monopoly in the supply of this article in Ceylon and Mauritius. We are therefore left with the Straits Settlements as the only place in which Indian trade might be assisted by a preference.

It is clear from the above that preference or no preference our export trade will remain the same and as Prof. Lees Smith has remarked will neither gain nor lose. But our export trade is not the whole trade of India. There are the imports which are generally finished products of other countries. We have raw materials in abundance but it is well known that so far as the manufactured articles are concerned India is not a self supporting country—indeed, she cannot supply even a fraction of her necessities. For a long time to come we shall have to depend upon foreign countries for many necessary articles of daily use. At present we in British India import foreign articles of 108 crores 30 lacs and 75 thousand rupees a year. Of these those of 72 crores 29 lacs and 85 thousand come from the United Kingdom, of 8 crores 33 lacs and 70 thousand rupees come from the colonies and the remaining articles of 27 crores 67 lacs and 20 thousand rupees come from other foreign countries. Now, India like every other free-trading country buys in the cheapest market. It is obvious that the countries outside the British empire can supply us those goods only which they can sell at a cheaper rate in the Indian market than the United Kingdom. But if a preferential scheme is accepted Great Britain in order to oust these foreign Countries from the Indian market will raise a high tariff wall against these countries. Consequently the prices of those commodities which are imported from such countries as Germany, Austria, the United States and Japan will rise. India will gain nothing from this tariff, for with her ill-equipped factories, unskilled labour and hundred other disadvantages it will be impossible for her to beat England in competition and capture the whole or any part of the aforementioned market. While therefore we shall have not the slightest advantage from Imperial preference we shall have to pay more and more for articles of our daily use, and the already overwhelming commercial 'drain' will go on increasing and increasing! Had not Mr. Lees Smith altogether ignored this side of the question he would have hesitated to advise the Indian leaders to accept a preferential scheme

The only advantage which India is likely to gain from Imperial Preference is an indirect one. As Mr. Lees Smith says, if the

proposals for preferences are ever adopted by the United Kingdom, they will undoubtedly be accompanied by a return to protection. India will then have a unique opportunity of gaining her fiscal freedom, for then Great Britain will not have the slightest justification to refuse India to choose her own fiscal policy. We are glad to note in this connection that Prof. Lees Smith is for granting fiscal freedom to India—though India to him means for this purpose not the Indian people but the Indian Government, 'acting in conjunction with the educated opinion of the country.' There is a vast difference between the two. Nevertheless we are thankful to Mr. Lees Smith very much for this, and how we wish that every politician of England had looked into the question from the same stand-point from which Prof. Lees Smith discusses it.

Professor Lees Smith admits that public opinion in India is overwhelmingly protectionist. He recognises that if she were granted her fiscal freedom she would raise a high tariff against British goods. He also admits that, among the educated and commercial classes, free trade is regarded as a policy forced upon India against her best interests by Great Britain. But he is not a protectionist himself, or, at best, he may be said to be only a very hesitating ally of protection. If notwithstanding all these he advocates fiscal freedom for India it is because, a truly liberal man that he is, he holds that in such matters as this every country ought to have its own choice. In this book he has made no secret of his misgivings about the prevalence of the protectionist sentiment in India. His objections against protection may be summarised in this way:—

1. Once protection is accorded to certain industries it is very difficult to remove it afterwards, for:—

(a) Infant industries never admit that they have grown to maturity and the need for protection exists no longer.

(b) Behind the tariff wall a number of industries establish themselves which can never perhaps exist without it. It is better that they should perish than live to be a burden upon the nation.

(c) Those who are threatened with loss form a compact interest bringing concentrated pressure to bear upon the Government. On the other hand the interests of the public are diffused over too wide an area to be powerful as a political force. The tribute which each consumer pays is so small that it is not worth the while of any organised body to press the Government very hard.

(d) The temptation of the Government to follow the line of

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least resistance is increased by the fact that it has grown to depend upon the protective duties as a source of revenue.

Thus a permanent burden is imposed upon the whole community.

2. Unlike the United States, Germany, etc., want of enterprise and conservatism are the principal defects of the trade of India ; and these are the very faults which protection is calculated to perpetuate. Economic progress is dependent upon the pressure of keen competition. Industries which are in a position of unhealthy security, because they are sheltered behind a tariff wall, lose the spirit of improvement.

So far as the difficulties under the heading (1) are concerned, they can be remedied by declaring at the very outset that protection will be given to only certain industries for a fixed number of years only and as Pundit Madun Mohan Malaviya suggested in the Imperial Council by imposing duty in a graduated scale, so that it may decline as time goes on.

As regards the defects mentioned in (2) we hold that tariffs can be arranged in such a way as will partially relieve the Indian industries of their burden, yet will not wholly remove them from the healthy atmosphere of competition.

There can be no doubt about the fact that some of the Indian industries are in a very bad way. Mr. Noel-Paton has successfully shown in his now famous pamphlet on the sugar industry of India that sugar-cane cultivation is gradually going down in the United Provinces. The other day Mr. Mudholkar declared roundly in the Imperial Council that the area under sugar-cane cultivation has perceptibly decreased in all the provinces except Madras. Prof. Lees Smith himself does not draw a very bright picture of our industries when in his interesting survey he admits that tanning and leather manufactures are not flourishing, the condition of sugar industry is bad, woolen and paper trade "shows no signs of expansion," the prospects of coffee are "by no means bright," indigo "presents a gloomy picture," and that "inspite of the high skill of the Indian weavers silk industry is losing ground."

If "losing ground" is the verdict passed by competent authorities upon all our principal industries, how can it be expected that time alone will set matters right? Indeed, the tendency of the time seems to be the other way about.

But we frankly confess that we do not believe in any miraculous power of protection. We have seen too much of our people to believe that protection is the only thing needful to make Indian industries successful. When we find that respectable gentlemen of

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our society allow themselves to be elected directors of this and that joint-stock company, and the next moment forget that they have any responsibility towards them; when we find that sometimes even the principal directors cannot really say where the office of their company is located, we cannot say that in India, in Bengal at least, free trade is the only evil that has to be contended against.

If we still advocate protection it is because we think that the prospect of sure gain may stimulate the Indian mind to activity and to cast off its habitual lethargy. At present industrial enterprise in India is an uphill struggle of no mean order. Many a stout heart quails before the magnitude of the task. The few who dare meddle with it begin their work almost half-heartedly and in half despair. The very hopelessness of the situation in which they have got to work is not a favourable condition to the growth of energy and courage.

We must remember however that in our present circumstances protection may not be without its special danger in India. To be weak is always miserable and so long as we are not strong, so long as we have no potent voice in the administration of our affairs, protection may be an additional cause of injury to us. As Mr. Gokhale, himself a strong protectionist, pointed out in the Council Chamber that "there are influential interests, influential combinations, influential parties in England who can have ready access to the Secretary of State, to whom we have no such access and who will not fail to take the fullest advantage of the situation and this huge machine of protection, which is a vast power, will be employed, not in the interests of the people of India, but in the interests of those parties."

So herein lies the moral of the whole thing. Without strength nothing, not even protection, is of any avail to us. We should therefore endeavour to make ourselves stronger and stronger, and along with it ask for a judicious system of protection.

If protection is given to Indian industries it is interesting to enquire which of them are likely to be included in the list. Prof. Lees Smith names the following:—Iron and steel, petroleum, cotton manufactures, tanned hides and skins, leather goods, silk and woollen manufactures, paper, sugar, tea and tobacco.

Space does not permit us to enter into a more detailed account of this book which we have gone through with much profit and great pleasure. We have no hesitation in saying that every student of Indian economics and Indian industries, be he an Englishman or an Indian, will be benefited by a close study of this book.

ARTICLES

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We are not always quite ready to confess a defect. But there are times when such confession would be not only honest but also very helpful in the future regulation of our affairs. It would seem that the time has arrived for public life in Bengal to confess its defeat in the great constitutional struggle on which it boldly embarked six years ago. No doubt arguments would readily present themselves to our persistent self-complacency to show that we have not been wholly defeated. A great deal might be made of small facts and stirring speeches made to hang on circumstances that would perhaps yield to a more serious handling. But if we frankly determine to call a spade a spade, it must be admitted that we have to a very great extent failed to realise our object and this failure leaves our national life hopelessly crushed and depressed—a great deal worse than it ever was before.

But I will not labour the point further. I will leave to the self-complacency of our public men to glean what comfort they can from their dreams, if they have still any. Nor will I enter into any endless controversy about the exact causes of the failure. I shall not also pause to repulse the half-gleeful sympathy of our candid friends who bring us priceless comfort in the shape of assurances that they had always told us so. I shall only call the attention of the readers of the *Indian World* to some of the outstanding weaknesses in our national movement to the more prominent of which notice was drawn in the editorial pages of this Review several months ago and which our experience of the past five years prominently bring before our eyes, elements which we must take full account of in any treatment of the coming questions of our public life.

The most outstanding feature in our public life which the story of the past five years brings out is the utter lack of character in our people. By character I understand that backbone of strong convictions which supports a nation in any line of action which it has definitely proposed to itself. This character gives that tone and steadiness to public life without which public movements are bound to be utterly futile. Now, what does the public life of the past few years show us? We have laboured a great deal, suffered

much, and have struggled for sometime with great enthusiasm. But all our enterprise and endeavour have been like the hysteric movements of a nervous constitution which do not want strength of a sort and lack consistency but are too apt to lapse suddenly into utter quiescence. The result has been on the one hand the proneness of the enthusiasm to get out of the bounds of reason and good sense, as the too ready acceptance of a violent propaganda amply demonstrate, and on the other a quick subsidence of the enthusiasm after its utmost limits had been reached, leaving the body-politic in utter prostration. We had fought with wild enthusiasm, but when our struggle failed we became so utterly lifeless that the forces of repression, if the government had any inclination to push them to the utmost possible limits, would find nothing to resist them. The most phenomenal circumstance is that while during the high tide of our enthusiasm people would have nothing to do with anybody who gave anything more than a month's notice to the British Raj, with the fall of the barometer, we surrendered without a word of protest. A great deal of enthusiasm was shown in past years over the celebration of the 7th August, but when last year Sir Edward Baker issued what was practically an order prohibiting meetings in Calcutta on that day, the whole of United Bengal surrendered to the order without a murmur and as yet scarcely a word of effective protest has been raised against this prohibition. Our people have even forgotten to justify their action in the past and have with admirable docility accepted Sir Edward Baker's clear opinion that the boycott movement has all along been a most mischievous propaganda. Now I do not deny that it is possible to have two opinions about the policy or propriety of the boycott movement and surely Sir Edward Baker was welcome to have and to act up to his own opinion of the matter. But our people were committed to the opinion that boycott was a legitimate and proper method of protest and it was obligatory on them not only in the interest of the popular cause for all time to come to enter a protest against Sir Edward's resolution. It is possible that they had about the same time changed their opinion about the propriety or policy of the boycott movement as a programme for the future, and if that was so they might accept Sir Edward's prohibition without protest. But our people and our leaders have almost condemned themselves in not recording their protest against the Lieutenant-Governor's opinion on the past of the movement. Are we to understand that they had even come to agree with the opinion expressed by the Lieutenant-Governor as to the nature

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of the boycott movement in the past? If they were, they ought to have come forward and frankly and honestly renounced their programme and themselves passed the condemnation which it was left to the Lieutenant-Governor to do. Every one has a right to change his opinion, but sneaking out of an opinion which was once the bone of your bone without an open avowal is not surely an indication of character either in the individual or in the nation. If there is anything which all this shows, it is an entire absence of manliness in our people, or at any rate in that section of it which indulges in political movements. A stronger character would on the one hand have restrained our public life within reasonable bounds and on the other stoutly defended its citadels within those bounds. With such a character in our people we should never have heard of any serious seditious movements except in stray enthusiasts, nor should we have the humiliation of a cowardly surrender of our cherished liberties of speech and association without exhausting all the resources of constitutional struggle in their favour.

Next to this want of character and closely allied to it we notice a certain amount of hollowness in our public life. Our agitations, except in one or two cases, have always greatly lacked that severe earnestness which can alone sustain us in an unequal struggle with settled order of things. My experience of public life during the past few years has convinced me that as a people, barring honourable exceptions among individuals, we care more for the external appearance of things than for the essential reality. To take one instance: we have cared a great deal more to make believe that the people want this or that than to ascertain if they really want it or to really build up a public opinion in its favour. We start an organisation. The first and foremost consideration with practical men in such a case would be to make the organisation a really effective one. We, on the other hand, strain every nerve to tell the world that the organisation is effective rather than to ensure its effectiveness. Instances of such organisations would occur to everybody who has studied our institutions during the past five years or more, and while most of them show this characteristic, the most typical instance is the still-born Swadeshi Chamber of Commerce. If an effective organisation like that had been started it would have greatly assisted the economic advancement of our province and would have made impossible the violent set-back which Swadeshi trade in this province has suffered within the past two or three years. But instead of quietly attending to the work of organisation,

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the promoters set about making as much noise over it as they conveniently could. From the very outset it was evident they were not serious about it. The result that followed was the usual one of much cry and little wool. I make these remarks about the Chamber because it has, I believe, ceased to exist. There are other organisations which I should not like to harm by adverse comment, but which are in no small degree open to the same criticism.

Besides this there is another respect in which our public life may be regarded as hollow, *viz.* its absolute want of touch with the masses of people. Public movements in our country are confined to only a section of the educated community, to the independent middle classes. It is detached from the richer people on the one hand and from the poor on the other. We can no doubt claim the credit of honestly trying to think for the poor, but the fact cannot be denied that the poor do not think with us.

Another most fruitful source of the ill-success of our endeavours is the paucity of leaders who combine in themselves intellectual capacity to lead with severe earnestness and capacity. If there were at least one man eminently fit to guide our movements in each town of the province and half a dozen at the centre, every defect and difficulty would have been overcome. But, unfortunately for the country, public life is entrusted into the hands of a body of men who can at best snatch an hour or two from their busy professional career for the work of the public. It is not true that really capable leaders are absolutely wanting, but they are not always sufficiently earnest and more usually they can spare but little time for the work. Such men can work at high pressure during a time of intense enthusiasm but they can never be trusted to work steadily and continuously towards the attainment of a difficult object and ably guide public life through all its branches and ramifications.

Last but not the least is the poverty of the section of the public which takes to political movements. Useful organisations and institutions are handicapped in the performance of their daily work for want of funds, some are famished, and others cannot come into being for want of adequate financial resources. It is this poverty again which prevents a great many earnest men from working in the public cause with that unity of purpose which alone can lead to success. The peculiar organisation of the Bengalee society again makes self-remuneration in the workers more difficult than elsewhere, for the glory of self-sacrifice is most usually dimmed by the cruelty of abandoning to their fate the many hungry mouths of one's

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family. Here therefore more than anywhere else wealth is more a necessity for men anxious to work for public good than anywhere else.

I do not point to these defects in our public life in any carping spirit, but in the honest desire to point out the difficulties in our public movements and to invite consideration of them not as a preliminary to a counsel of despair, but to urge my countrymen to a determined struggle with these elements of weakness so that our public life in future may be more real, more earnest and more vigorous than ever. It is to the consideration of the ways and means for the attainment of this consummation that I shall in my humble way now address myself.

Most of the deficiencies above referred to would seem on close inspection to be bound up with our social organisation, and it seems that if we are to succeed to any extent in building up a vigorous national life our activities must to a very great extent be addressed to tackling social problems. I should not like to be misunderstood as subscribing to any extent to the memorable dictum of a distinguished countryman of ours that a subject nation has no politics. I do not for one moment suggest that we should abandon politics and commence professing the copy-book programme of the doctrinaire social reformer. All that I stand for is in that our activities in the sphere of politics we must now make serious attempts to grapple with the social problems that lie at the very threshold of public life and not that political agitation should be supplanted by a propaganda for widow remarriage for instance.

The most important social facts that confront us is the wide gulf that separates the upper middle class from the masses of the country and the appalling ignorance and grovelling condition of the poorer section of our countrymen. So long as they remain where they are, strength and backbone in our public movements cannot but be wanting. If our ignorant and poor peasants are replaced by a vigorous, prosperous and educated peasantry more than half the difficulties of our public life would disappear. The amateur politician and the lip-deep patriot would be shunted off into a siding and our public life will be invigorated by the strength and sobriety that always comes of contact with the masses. The social and political importance of a vigorous and intelligent peasantry has been borne out by the unmistakable impress that they have left on the history of the rise and fall of Rome and of the growth of the English power. There can be no question that a nation's true and only lasting glory is inevitably bound up with the prosper-

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ity, intelligence and vigour of its peasantry and the so-called lower classes. And if we are truly nationalists and care more for the glory of the nation than for the continuance or prosperity of any class, all our endeavours should be directed to the uplifting of the poorer classes. It may be that the development of these classes may shatter our present-day national ideals, it may displace from its seat of authority a class of our people, and a great revolution of social ideas may at first frighten the conservative mind. But, for all this, it is the work above all others to which we have to address ourselves if we care for the glory of our ancient land.

If we are wide awake and look at the progress of the world as intelligent students, we cannot fail to see that here we have a problem the solution of which cannot be delayed much longer with advantage to the nation. The most pronounced feature of the public life of the Western world to-day is the great struggle between capital and labour. If we look back at the history of this struggle we shall be able to trace a great deal of the heat and rancour of the present struggle to the impoverishment of the masses of the people caused by the greed of the rich. The same circumstances may very well present themselves in our country at no distant date, and we may be forced to determine the true position of the hewers of wood and drawers of water. Shall we blindly allow social conditions in this country to drift to that position in which a struggle acuter far than that we now see in the West shall be inevitable? Shall we allow our poor countrymen to become worse and worse day by day being continuously pushed to the wall in an unequal struggle with a richer and more educated class? If this process should go on, a time will come when the only alternative would be the practical serfdom of our poor countrymen or their self-liberation from the thralldom of the richer classes by more or less violent processes. It is worth all the endeavours of statesmanship to learn the lesson of the social struggle in the West and prevent the coming catastrophe by a far-seeing adjustment of social relations so as to ensure the growth of a prosperous, educated and vigorous body of peasants and labourers.

It is impossible to stay the hands of time. There are already whispers of a life in the dry bones of our poor classes which indicates that the present conditions cannot long endure. It is not possible for us to defer the day of reckoning even if we be disposed to. Common prudence would therefore prompt us to take time by the forelock and set our house in order that we may face that day without a blush or tremor. We must help the depressed millions

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out of the depths of their ignorance and squalor. And the sooner we do it the better. For we can now approach the problem with calmness and deliberation, and we shall have ample time to adjust our ideals and social environments to the coming changes, and not be hurried along by the rushing tide of a revolution.

Of late a great deal of attention has been directed towards the elevation of the depressed classes so-called. But the way in which the question has been approached touches only the fringe of the question and affects at best only one section—the Hindu untouchables. The movement ought to be more expansive and it ought to be directed to the uplifting of all the depressed classes and to the obliteration of the odious distinction of *Bhadralog* and *Chotalog*. That is really the problem of the future and that is the problem which will solve many others.

For one thing it should absolutely demolish the differences between Hindus and Musulmans which has been one of the most disquieting features of our public life for some time past. For these differences have no solid ground to stand upon. A Hindu *qua* Hindu or a Moslem *qua* Moslem does not represent any political interest. Socially too they have long lived on a footing of equality. In the scramble for official favours, fanciful differences have been built up between them which are bound to crumble down the first time that both Hindus and Mussulmans are brought face to face with more substantial questions involving real political and economic interests and social status. For, despite the teachings of their faith, a very substantial wall divides the rich from the poor among Mussulmans as among Hindus. If ever these classes shall come into conflict, the upper classes of Hindus and Mahamedans alike will sharply be divided from the "lower classes" of Hindus and Mahomedans. When the question at issue is a substantial question of social status and political interests, all fanciful political idiosyncracies based on simply credal grounds are bound to give way. This is not a mere matter of theory, but capable of easy demonstration. I should like to see a member of Eastern Bengal and Assam Council bring before the Council two bills, one providing for the limitation of the *mansur* claimed by landlords for registering the heirs of a deceased tenant and another making it obligatory on a zemindar to maintain schools for the benefit of their ryots or to contribute a definite share out of their rental for the maintenance of schools. If such proposals are brought forward, I am sure the most prominent amongst the exponents of the Moslem League in the Eastern Bengal Council would set themselves decidedly against the

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proposal, although the vast majority of the people to be benefitted by these eminently reasonable proposals would be the Mahomedans, whose interests these members are supposed specifically to represent. If they do not oppose, it would speak volumes for the patriotism of our Mahomedan fellow countrymen.

In the same manner countless other petty imaginary differences would be swallowed up in one of the most substantial and fundamental problems of politics. But these are matters of small importance and wholly insignificant when compared to the immeasurable benefits to the nation from the uplifting of the great nation that lives in the cottages. This is the work to which we should now definitely address ourselves and it would be entirely to the benefit of the country if all communities and all interests would join in the promotion of this great object. It should be the special interest of Zemindars and capitalists to help in this great work. For their assistance would not only greatly help forward the movement, but when the end is achieved go to obliterate the otherwise irascible bitterness which would grow up when a prosperous and educated populace is opposed to conservative and hostile capitalists. But whether they help or not, we have to take up the work and push it forward with earnestness and resolution. We should promote the object by private enterprise and public organisation ; press for the furtherance of those objects from our places in the Legislative Councils and District and Municipal Boards , and from the press and platform incessantly labour to educate the public opinion in its favour. A band of earnest public men devoted to this object above all others would I am sure infuse an altogether new life into the public movements of India and the public agitations receiving their inspiration from the most living and burning of public questions would attain to an amount of strength and vigour to which we have not been so far accustomed. And, I feel sure, we shall gain added strength, because with the progress of time we are bound to have whole of the masses at our back.

I should gladly stop here, but I would then be accused of talking vague abstractions about the uplifting of the masses without any concrete programme of work. Now I must premise at the outset that, to start with, the programme cannot be very definite and if the work is commenced in the right spirit, the filling in of details would not take much time. Broadly speaking, however in our work of uplifting the masses we should have two objects principally in view viz, to educate them and to help them to live better. If we can assist in developing a scheme of universal

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and compulsory education, if we can help to make their surrounding and habits more sanitary, if we can limit the exactions of the landlord and the capitalist, if we can develop habits of greater thrift amongst them, and if by establishment of co-operative credit societies and the introduction of co-operative principles into the organisations for the supply of their necessities and agriculture or manufacture, we can bring more money into their pockets and remove their crying wants, we should not only have achieved a great deal in our work of uplifting the masses, but should have put them on a track on which further progress would be assured to them.

I make no mention of the other and purely social aspect of the question which seems just now to be engrossing the largest amount of attention of our public men. The question of social recognition is no doubt one of great importance, not only for the "untouchable" amongst the Hindus but for all depressed classes, Hindus and (to a certain extent) Mahomedans. But in this direction we can do very little directly to produce a breach in the strong ramparts of our ancient society. We can only trust to the slow process of education on both sides to effectually remove these insufferable barriers. In the meantime all that we can now do seems to be to try methods of persuasion and incessantly to preach the ideas to the people. This may go some way to remove the social disabilities, but the problem can only be effectually dealt with automatically by the advancing education of both sides and by the growth of wealth and self-respect amongst the so-called lower classes. If education is fairly started on its way, we can safely trust to the progress of time to do the rest.

Naresh C. Sen Gupta

CHOTANAGPUR IN THE SEPOY MUTINY

The many thrilling incidents connected with the Sepoy Mutiny in the Punjab, the North-Western Provinces, and Bihar, are familiar to every student of Indian History. The gallantry, the endurance, and the brilliant achievements of Outram and Havelock, Lawrence and Nicholson, have been remembered with admiration by successive generations of Englishmen and Indians. Though the Mutiny in Chotanagpur was not as full of thrilling and dramatic incidents as the Mutiny in the provinces further to its north and west, the British officers, Colonel Dalton and his assistants, who steered this hilly province safely out of the tempest of the Mutiny, are in their quiet way as remarkable instances of British valour,

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staunchness, resolution and patience as the more distinguished officers who won their laurels in the Upper Provinces and Behar.

In the present article, we shall attempt a short narrative of the way in which the insurrection travelled to the out of the way districts of Ranchi and Hazaribagh, what course it took, and how it was eventually pacified. Ranchi was then the head-quarters of the artillery of the Ramgarh battalion, of which one detachment of the 8th Native Infantry came to be quartered at Hazaribagh. On the 30th of July, the soldiers of this latter detachment received news of the mutiny of the native garrison at Dinapur. The troops at Hazaribagh had been waiting for this news. And as soon as it arrived, they forthwith mutinied, drove the European military officers and civil authorities from the station, plundered the treasury and released the prisoners from the local jail. After a wanton destruction of private property the mutineers left Hazaribagh.

In the meanwhile, the officer commanding at Doranda, the military Station near Ranchi, had despatched Lieutenant Graham with thirty horsemen of the Ramgarh Irregular Cavalry, two companies of the Ramgarh battalion, and two guns, to disarm the troops at Hazaribagh who, the rumour had already been afloat, were vacillating and shaky. Before the troops under Lieutenant Graham had reached a quarter of the way from Doranda to Hazaribagh, Captain Oakes from the latter station met them with the intelligence that the Hazaribagh detachment had mutinied the previous day. This intelligence shook the fidelity of the troops under Lieutenant Graham, and that same night they too mutinied, seized the guns and ammunitions and marched back to Doranda, swearing they would not leave a single European alive. To add a comic dignity to their movements, they led away four elephants, the property of Mr. Commissioner Dalton, along with them. Captain Dalton, and the handful of European officers then stationed at Ranchi, received timely information of the revolt. There was now no help for them but to leave the station which they reluctantly did just an hour before the rebels arrived there.

And now commenced a scene of horror the like of which Ranchi had never witnessed before. At about 4 P.M., on the 2nd of August, about an hour after the Europeans had quitted the station, Jemadar Madho Sing at the head of the mutinous Sepoys entered the gates of Ranchi. They proceeded first with their guns to the Commissioner's house, but after some consultation amongst themselves left it uninjured. They next proceeded to the house of Captain Oakes and burnt it to ashes, and then similarly dealt with

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Lieutenant Moncrieff's bungalow. Now they made for the Jail and released the prisoners. The German Church was next attacked, a hole towards the top of the tower of the Church still shows a half embodied cannon ball which the mutineers then fired at this fine Gothic building. After this they halted for an hour from their course of wanton destruction, and sent a deputation to the troops still left at Doranda, received a deputation back from them, and after deliberations, were admitted into cantonments. With the exception of the cavalry portion of the sowars of the local force at Doranda, the remainder of the Battalion joined them. Rapine and plunder became now the order of the day. Infamous characters, released from the jail, began to plunder in all directions. Among others the old and god-natured Jail Doctor, Budhu Khwad by name, was most cruelly beheaded by a party of Sepoys led by Devi Sing. A few of the local Zemindars were induced to join the mutineers. Thakur Birnath Sahai, Jagirdar of Barkagarh, one of the rebel leaders of Ranchi, was elected by the mutineers as their chief, and another local Jagirdar, Pandey Ganpat Rai of Bhaunro, was formally installed by them as their commander-in-chief. Thakur, it is said, would sit every day in one of the cantonment bungalows to administer justice or, to call it by its right name, injustice. It is said that a man who had once successfully opposed him in a law-suit was now beheaded under his order. Thakur Birnath with one hundred and fifty followers went out and cut several trenches on the road leading over the Chutupalu Ghat or pass with the obvious intention of making it difficult for the troops advancing against Doranda. Some other Zemindars are said to have attempted to close the Ghats to prevent the ingress of the troops under Major English, and to assist the mutineers in obtaining supplies.

In the meanwhile, Captain Dalton, who had retreated to Hazaribagh, did his best to restore order in that place. Of the officers of the Ramgarh Local Force there were present with him Colonel Robbins, Captain Graham (second in command), Lieutenant Reeves, Lieutenant Middleton, besides Dr. Warneford and two sergeants. They all took up their quarters in one and the same bungalow which was situated in a good and fairly strong position. With the aid of these officers and the European cavalry as well as a few faithful native horsemen and foot soldiers, and supported by Captains J. T. Davies and W. H. Oakes, his own subordinate Civil Officers, Captain Dalton succeeded in partially restoring order to Hazaribagh, recovered plundered property, recaptured

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prisoners, arrested suspected persons, and re-opened the courts and bazars.

Within a few days, however, matters again came to such a pass that Captain Dalton had to fall back on Bagodar on the 13th of August. And at Bagodar, the Captain remained with the troops till 150 men of Rattray's Sikh Regiment under Lieutenant Earle arrived; and with their help Captain Dalton once more occupied Hazaribagh on the 28th of August. Already on the 13th of August, martial law had been proclaimed in all the districts of the Chota Nagpur Division.

The mutineers, however, were still at large. The Ranchi mutineers, after having plundered the town and set fire to all the bungalows except Dr. Bronghorn's at the military station of Doranda and destroyed some of the public buildings at Ranchi including the court house of the Principal Assistant to the Commissioner, quitted that station on the 11th of September. With four six pounder guns and a considerable quantity of ammunition, they marched out of Doranda in the direction of the Tiko-pass with the obvious intention of proceeding through Palamau to Rohtasgarh to effect a junction with Kuar Sing's party. At Tiko *ghat*, Baraik Hari Sing, a local Jagirdar, attempted to check the further progress of the mutineers, but when they brought their guns to bear upon the Baraik's men, the latter had to give in. From Tiko *ghat*, the mutineers who numbered about 600 men besides rabble, advanced in the direction of Palamau. On their way, it is said, they fired several road side villages of the troopers at Doranda; only four accompanied the mutineers, the rest escaped to Hazaribagh and joined their officers there.

In the meanwhile, Colonel Fischer, commanding a detachment of Madras troops, was ordered to march by way of Doranda to Hazaribagh. Before the orders reached Colonel Fischer at Barhi, on the night of the 13th September, the news of the departure of the Ranchi mutineers from Doranda and their advance in the direction of Rohtasgarh had reached him. And so Colonel Fischer, instead of himself going to Doranda which the enemy had left, despatched Major English with 150 soldiers of Her Majesty's 53rd and a wing of the 27th Madras N. I. through Hazaribagh towards Doranda. Major English, accompanied by Captain Dalton, the Commissioner, reached Ranchi on the 23rd September. It took Lieutenant Moncrieff with a large gang of coolies several hours to clear the road over the Ramgar *ghat* of the numerous trees that had been thrown across it and to fill up the

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great dykes that had been cut, apparently to obstruct their advance.

Whilst English was making for Doranda, Rattray, with 200 Sikhs, was intrenched at Dehri, and Fischer, with the main body, was moving towards Japla. The Ranchi mutineers had been known to have passed through Tiko ghat, Pundro and Babunath to Nowadih which they reached on the 27th September. Colonel Fischer who had correctly guessed that Chatra would prove their place of refuge was now relieved from the charge of the operations against the insurgents, and ordered to protect the Grand Trunk Road. The campaign in Chota Nagpur was now entrusted to Major English, under the direct orders of the Commander-in-Chief. Major English, on his return march to Hazaribagh, received a message from Colonel Fischer directing him to advance to Chatra with his men.

The mutineers reached Chatra on the 30th of September. And there they halted for a couple of days, without any suspicion that Major English and his men would be soon upon them. It was on Friday, the 2nd of September, 1857, that Major English with 150 of her Majesty's 53rd and under Lieutenant Earle with hundred and fifty of Rattray's Sikhs overtook the insurgents now numbering three thousand, including rabble, at Chatra. After a severe struggle lasting for over 2 hours Colonel Fischer completely defeated the enemy whose loss amounted to over 150 persons killed and wounded. The survivors fled in the direction of Sheighotty. The guns and ammunition, several boxes of plundered treasure and all the camp equipage of the enemy, were seized. The loss on the British side was 56 killed and wounded, of whom 46 were European soldiers. Two of the leading mutineers, Subadar Jaimangal Pandey and Subadar Nadir Ali, were forthwith taken to the jungles, tried and hanged. Jemadar Madho Sing, the prime mover of the Mutiny in this part of the country, managed to escape. Chota-Nagpur was now left to the protection of Rattray and his Sikhs, and the Commissioner Colonel Dalton and his Assistants.

On his return to Ranchi on the 23rd September, Colonel Dalton had issued a proclamation giving twenty-four hours' leave for the restoration of public and private property during the absence of the authorities. Although the courts had been re-opened after Colonel Dalton's return to Ranchi and business proceeded as usual, desultory warfare continued for sometime longer, for the local rebels were still at large. The local rebels who took the most active part in the mutiny of the Sepoys of the Ramgarh battalion,

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Thakur Birnath and Pandey Ganpat, were still at large. Petty skirmishes and affrays took place, now and again, in the Ranchi district. One such affray occurred on the 5th of November, 1857, in which one Amir Ali Khan was killed and some other men wounded. Three followers of Pandey Ganpat Rai, namely Rathu Sing, Golam Ali, and Kanu Ahir, were recognised as having taken part in the affray. In March, 1858, depredations were committed by the insurgents on some villages in Pargana Nawagarh, and the Borway Police Station was looted.

To operate against the local insurgents, Colonel Dalton assembled an escort of the Ramgarh Irregular Cavalry under the command of Captain Nation and 200 of the new Kol levy. These Kol recruits had been fully drilled and instructed in musquetry under Lieutenant Reeves. The embers of disaffection were not finally extinguished in the district of Lohardaga (now Ranchi) till Thakur Birnath Sahi and Pandey Ganpat Rai were at length captured. Two local landholders, Birnath Dubey and Mohesh Narain Sahi, are said to have rendered assistance in their capture. The two insurgent leaders were placed on their trial before the Deputy Commissioner (now styled Judicial Commissioner) for acts of rebellion and other crimes, and were both hanged, the Thakur on the 16th April, and the Pandey on the 21st April, 1858. Ninety-seven villages, including tolas or hamlets, which constituted Thakur Birnath's estate had already been confiscated on the 10th December, 1857. The Government generally granted compassionate allowances to various members of the rebel's family. The property of Pandey Ganpat Rai consisting of eleven villages and shares in two other villages were also forfeited to Government. Bhola Sing, a Zemindar of Choreahad, it is said, been already put to death by the residents of Chatra. Thus ended the Ranchi episode of the terrible Mutiny of 1857. One happy circumstance in the Ranchi Mutiny was that except a mere handful of misguided men, the people of the District stood loyally by the Government. The Bengal Government Administration Report, for 1857-58, correctly observed :—" It is a matter of wonder that the ignorant and savage population, seeing the troops in open Mutiny, the prisoners forcibly released from the jails, the treasures plundered, the stations abandoned by the authorities, should not have risen *en masse* as, had there been any widespread feeling of dissatisfaction with the British rule, they would undoubtedly have done." The then Lieutenant-Governor, Sir Frederick Halliday, highly eulogised Captain Dalton for his excellent services. Sir Frederick's successor,

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Sir John Peter Grant, visited Ranchi in 1860, and held a *darbar* there at which such of the local Zemindars as had distinguished themselves by their loyalty were rewarded by *khilats* and presents. Of the Ranchi zemindars the first recipient of such honours was Perganite Jagat Pal Sing of Pithorea who received the title of Rai Bahadur, and khillut of a double-barrel rifle of the value of Rs. 280 and a shawl of the value of Rs. 375. He was also awarded a life pension of Rs. 280 per year. When the mutineers of the 8th Native Infantry from Dinapur attempted to march on Ranchi, this loyal Perganite closed the Pithoria *ghat*, and successfully held it against them. When the Ramgarh Battalion at Doranda had mutined in the beginning of August 1857, it was the Perganite who gave shelter to the Europeans and their families who had been compelled to leave Doranda and Ranchi. The Perganite again exerted himself to furnish the officers with information about the movements of the mutineers, and he also provided supplies to the British troops sent to re-occupy Doranda. With steadfast loyalty he refused all intercourse with, or assistance to, the mutineers, although their threatened attack had driven him with his family for a time into the jungles. Other landholders of the district who had rendered valuable assistance to Government in opposing the mutineers of the Ramgarh Battalion at the Tiko and Chandwa *ghats*, were Baraik Hari Sing, Baraik Jubboo Sing, Thakur Bhim Sing, Chamar Sing, Bichem Misser, and Emambux Khan. Each of these landholders received an English double-barrel gun of the value of Rs. 150. This was a fitting sequel to the successful campaign of British soldiers and officers in the Ranchi (then Lohardaga) district. It was the sense of security to life and property enjoyed under British Government that kept practically the entire population of the district steadfastly loyal during the troublous days of the Mutiny of the Sepoys of the Ramgarh Battalion.

2*

Sarat Chandra Roy

THE ANTIQUITY OF JHANSI

The growing power of the English arms, which had successively crushed the mighty potentates of India and humbled the Peshwa, made Sheo Rao Bhao to take things seriously on his own interest. So in November 1803, shortly after the arrival of the British army in Bundelkhand, he informed Lord Lake of his readiness to help the English in their affairs in that district and requested him to

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send a battalion or two with an officer of rank that "he might join and assist them in conquering the countries adjacent to his own." He even sent word to the English Commander-in-chief to the effect that "if the Hon'ble Company are desirous of possessing my country and fort I am ready to submit, but as the British Nation and his Highness the Peshwa are at peace and as a Treaty exists between them, let an order of His Highness be produced that I may perform the duty of allegiance by obeying that order." He requested as a favour from the British Government that if the Peshwa at any future period would make over his country to the Company and if it ever should form a part of the British Government, a *Jaidad* in that case should be assigned to him for the support of his cavalry and infantry and for the maintenance of himself and his family in perpetuity.* He did not show his fidelity and attachment in paper only, but soon after, on the 4th January 1804, he personally arrived at the British Camp. His example was soon followed by several other chiefs of note. "The troops of the Subadar of Jhanshi," notes the Governor-General, "have since been employed in co-operating in the defence of Bundelkhand and the adjoining districts. The example of the Subadar has induced several other chiefs in that quarter to place themselves under the protection of the British Government."†

As a recompense for this material service the English made, on the 6th day of February, 1804, a treaty of defensive alliance with Sheo Rao Bhao, in the preamble of which the request made in his prayer of November 1803 were all "acceded to by His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief." Whereas "certain requests and arguments on the part of Sheo Rao Bhao were not included in the said *Wajiboolurz* and are now necessary to be added," this new treaty consisting of 9 articles was agreed on for the purpose of affording additional security and confidence to Sheo Rao Bhao and of constituting an additional pledge of his fidelity and attachment to the British Government. By the first article of this treaty the Subadar of Jhansi, professing his entire submission and sincere attachment to the British Government and to His Highness the Peshwa, engaged to "consider the friends of both Governments as his friends and their enemies as his enemies." By the 3rd article the Bhao and the English agreed that "if at any time a detachment of British force shall march into the Bhao's country for the purpose of

* See Aitchison's *Treaties*, revised edition, vol II.

† *Vide* Despatch of the Governor-General in Council to the Secret Committee April 1804. Marquis of Wellesley's Despatches, Vol. V, p. 92.

quelling disturbances, the whole expense of such detachment shall be borne by the British Government." By the 4th article it was settled "that whatever tribute has been hitherto paid to His Highness the Peshwa by the Bhao shall be continued to be paid to His Highness. The British Government do not demand any tribute for themselves."* By this treaty Sheo Rao Bhao, though acknowledging his submission and attachment to the British Government, still remained the "Tributary to His Highness the Peshwa."† This anomaly disappeared after his death which took place in 1815 when the Peshwa by the treaty of 1817 ceded to the Hon'ble East India Company all "his rights, interests, or pretensions, feudal, territorial, or pecuniary in the province of Bundelkhand, including Saugor, Jhansi, and the lands held by Nāna Govind Rao and agreed to relinquish all connection with the chief in that quarter". By the same treaty he also "recognised for himself and his heirs and successors the dissolution in form and substance of the Mahratta confederacy and renounced all connection whatever with the other Mahratta powers, whether arising from his former situation of the executive head of the Mahratta Empire, or from any other cause."‡ Thus succeeding to the rights and prerogatives of the Peshwa in Bundelkhand, the English "with great generosity converted the Viceroys of Jhansi and Jhalour into independent sovereigns of hereditary principalities yielding to each ten lakhs of rupees."§ Sheo Rao left behind him two sons, Raghunath Rao and Gangadhar Rao. The eldest son Kissen Rao left one son, Ram Chand Rao. His daughters had all died in 1811. The succession now devolved on the infant, Ram Chand Rao. During his minority, Gopal Rao Bhao, nominated by Sheo Rao, acted as manager of the State under the regency of the queen mother. The transfer of the Peshwa's rights over the principality of Jhansi to the British Government changed the relations established by the former treaty between the British Government and Jhansi. 'The Tributary of the Peshwa' now became the tributary of the English. Accordingly, the Governor-General of the time, "in consideration of the very respectable character borne by the late Subadar Sheo Rao Bhao and his uniform faithful attachment and in deference to his wish expressed before his death that the principality of Jhansi might be confirmed in perpetuity to his grandson Rao Ram Chand,"

* Aitchison's *Treaties*, vol. II, p. 244.

† Aitchison *Treaties*, vol II, pp. 242, 243.

‡ Aitchison's *Treaties*, revised edition, vol. V, pp. 66, 68.

§ Sleeman's *Rambles and Recollections*, p. 284, note.

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concluded a treaty with the Jhansi Raj on the 18th November, 1817, by the second article of which the British Government "with a view to confirm the fidelity and attachment of the Government of Jhansi consents to acknowledge and constitutes Rao Ram Chand, his heirs and successors, hereditary rulers of the territory enjoyed by the Rao Sheo Bhao at the period of the commencement of the British Government and now in the possession of Rao Ram Chand, excepting the Pergunna of Moti, which, being held by the Jhansi Government in mortgage from Rajah Bahadur, will continue in its present footing until a settlement of the mortgage takes place between the parties."* The British Government further engaged to protect the aforesaid territory of Rao Ram Chand from the aggression of foreign powers.

Ram Chand, freed from the trammels of a hard and close regency, carried on the administration with such ability that the Supreme Government was highly pleased with him. The little State was well-ordered and the people were perfectly contented. No less an authority than Sir W. Sleeman remarked of him as "a young man of good capacity and most amiable disposition. My duties brought us much into communication and though we never met we had conceived a mental esteem for each other."† This has been fully corroborated by another Englishman of repute in the following passage : "The Rao was a sensible and high spirited young man ; his aristocracy and army were composed of thirty-three to three thousand persons chiefly of his own family and tribe and his villages had as good an appearance as any in India."‡ During the first Burman war, Ram Chandra Rao helped the English by advancing a sum of over Rs. 70000, but, when the Governor-General commending his action ordered the money to be repaid, Ram Chandra Rao declined to accept it on the ground that "he was an ally of the British Government and the interests of the two States were identical." Highly pleased at this noble conduct of the Rao, the Governor-General sent him a dress of honour as a *Khelat* and thanked him for his services. About the time of the great and momentous siege of Bhurampur by Lord Combermere great excitement prevailed throughout the whole of Central India. During this period Nana Pundit, a rebel chief, mustering a considerable force, attacked the British town of Calpee which was plundered

* Sleeman's *Rambles and Recollections*, p. 245.

† *Rambles and Recollections*, vol I, p. 270.

‡ See Indophile's *Letters to The Times*, p. 11.

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and partly burnt.* The brave Raja of Jhansi, at the request of the political agent, Mr. Ainslie, immediately despatched 400 cavalry, 1000 infantry, and a few artillery men with two guns to the rescue of the British. The arrival of the re-enforcement put the marauders to flight. Lord William Bentinck was grateful for this service of Ram Chandra Rao and spoke of it "in the highest terms of commendation and gratitude." He was so highly pleased that when he was returning to Calcutta from his tour in the upper provinces he made it a point to pass by Jhansi. During Lord Bentinck's stay at Jhansi, Ram Chandra prayed of the Governor-General to allow him to adopt the British flag as the flag of his State. This was granted without a moment's hesitation, and a Union Jack was placed in the hands of the Maha Raja and was immediately hoisted by his orders from the highest tower of his castle with a salute of 100 guns. The meaning of this incident was unmistakable. The adoption of the flag of the supreme power by a dependant chieftain was the most expressive symbol of attachment and union of interests.†

After a glorious and prosperous reign, this accomplished ruler died in 1835, leaving various claimants to contest the succession. First in their list appeared Kissen Rao, the sister's son of the deceased, a handsome lad of 10 years of age (the son of Morrusur Rao—one of the British pensioners of Saugar) supported by the influence of Saka Bai, the mother of the deceased. She alleged that her son adopted him shortly before his death. It is said that Saka Bai, a few hours before his son expired, had placed in his arms her grandson, the said Kissen Rao. Whether the dying Rao was then in his senses or not is not known. The minister Gopal Rao who was present on the occasion said to Sir W. Sleeman that he could not say whether the Rao was or was not sensible, for after that he never heard him speak. But Saka Bai considered the adoption as complete, though it was denied by adverse parties of whom Raghunath Rao and Gangadhar Rao, the paternal uncles of the deceased, were prominent claimants of the Jhansi Gaddi. Gangadhar Rao did not press much for his claim and he was exceedingly anxious to have his elder brother Ragunath Rao declared the Subadar of Jhansi. For in that case the principality would ultimately be ensured to him, as his elder brother had no sons and was suffering from the incurable malady of leprosy. Lastly, in the list

* John Mill's *History of British India*.

† Indophile's *Letters to The Times*, p. 11.

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of claimants stood Bada Sheo Rao, a distant cousin of the deceased, whom the widowed Ranee wished to adopt. This lovely and amiable princess was then only in her 25th year. Though with much persuasion and force she was prevented from sacrificing herself into the funeral pyre of her deceased lord, she survived his death only for a short time. "Her spirits," notes Sleeman, "never rallied after the death of her husband; she never ceased to regret that she had not burned herself with his remains." She died a few months afterwards in 1836.*

When this disputed question of inheritance was referred to the Supreme Government, they recognized the succession of Raghunath Rao.

* Sir W. Sleeman, who on the 14th of December 1835 visited Jhansi, was so struck with its good government, able ministers, and prosperous state that he unhesitatingly remarked "that the Rajas of Jhansi had hitherto been served by the most respectable, able, and honourable men in the country while the other chiefs of Bundelkand would get no man of this class to do their work for them—that this was the only court in Bundelkhand in which such men could be seen, simply because it was the only one in which they could feel themselves secure—while other chiefs confiscated the property of ministers who had served them with fidelity, on the pretence of embezzlement I have always considered Jhansi among the Native States of Bundelkhand as a kind of oasis in the desert—the only one in which man can accumulate property with the confidence of being permitted by its rulers freely to display and enjoy it. . . . The city of Jhansi contains about 60,000 inhabitants and is celebrated for its manufacture of carpets." And in a letter of condolence to the mother of the late Rao he also remarked that "the happy effects of good government in the prosperity of this city, and the comfort and happiness of the people, had extended the fame of the family all over India."† This happy and flourishing state suffered much afterwards in the hands of the new recognized Subadar.

Raghunath Rao was a leper and an incompetent ruler. His extravagance and debauchery caused his revenue to fall to three lakhs of rupees and involved him in debt. After an unpopular and unquiet reign of 3 years he died in 1838 leaving no legitimate issue. On his death the succession again became a subject of contention

* Sleeman's *Rambles and Recollections*, Vol. I, pp. 272, 275, 276, 278 Cf. also the N. W. P. Gazetteer, Vol. I, p. 296

† *Rambles and Recollections*, Vol. I, pp. 281—283, 285.

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among another set of four claimants, *viz.*, 1st Gangadhar Rao, who grounded his claim upon his natural right as the only surviving son of Sheo Rao Bhao; 2nd, Krishna Rao, the alleged adopted son of the late Raja's predecessor, Rao Ram Chand; 3rd, "Alli Bahedur, an illegitimate son of Raghunath Rao"; 4th, "Janaki Bai, the widow of the late Raja."*

A commission composed of Lieutenant-Colonel Spiers, Resident at Gwalior, Mr. Simon Fraser, and Captain D. Ross was appointed by the Governor-General to examine into the rights of the several claimants to the chiefship of the State. The Commissioners declared in favour of Gangadhar Rao's right to succeed.† In 1835 as well as in 1838, by the solemn engagements of 1817 with the Jhansi Raj, "it was incumbent upon the British Government to acknowledge as Raja the members of that family nearest in relationship to the deceased."‡ Gangadhar Rao being the nearest relation to the family ascended the Gadi.

The new ruler, being unable to manage the disturbed and disorganised country bequeathed to him by his brother, made over for some time the direct management of his state to his suzerain, the English Government. "In 1843 after the amputation of a limb of the territory, for the support of the Bundelkhand legion, the administration was restored to Gangadhar Rao."§ After the restoration of his territory in an organised and flourishing state, Gangadhar Rao ruled his country mildly and treated his subjects with his usual kindness. His fidelity and loyalty to the Supreme Government were unimpeachable. "His administration was on the whole good." "He took a personal interest in his estate and turned his attention to works of public improvements."|| "His assessments were impartially collected, remissions were granted in years of scarcity and the Raja himself was personally popular."¶ After a peaceful and mild government of 18 years he was prematurely cut off by dysentery on Monday, the 21st November, 1853. The day before his death the amiable Maharaja sent for the Political Agent, Mr. Ellis, and Captain Martin, the officer in command at Bundelkhand, and most politely handed over to them the following loyal testament which he explained to them and which he

* See Jhansi Blue Book, p. 18.

† See Jhansi Blue Book, p. 18.

‡ Malletson's *History of the Indian Mutiny*, Vol. I, p. 180.

§ Kaye's *History of the Sepoy War*, Vol. I, p. 90. C. F. also Aitchison's *Treaties*, revised edition, Vol. II, p. 247.

|| See N. W. P. Gazetteer, Vol. I, p. 298.

¶ Hunter's *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. V, p. 85.

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caused his men to read before the said officers in the presence of his court. The Kharita or the testament ran thus :—

After compliments :—"The manner in which my ancestors were faithful to the British Government, previous to the establishment of its authority in Bundelkhand, has become known even in Europe ; and it is well-known to the several agents here that I also have always acted in obedience to the authority.

I am now very ill ; and it is a source of great grief to me that notwithstanding all my fidelity and the favours conferred by such a powerful government the name of my father will end with me ; I have therefore with reference to the second article of the Treaty concluded with the British Government adopted Damodar Gangadhar Rao, commonly called Ananda Rao, a boy of five years old, my grandson through my grandfather (Nabeesah Judda).*

"I still hope that by the mercy of God and the favour of your Government I may recover my health as my age is not great and I may still have children and should this be the case, I will adopt such steps as may appear necessary. Should I not survive, I trust that in consideration of the fidelity I have evinced towards the British Government, favour may be shewn to this child and that my widow during her life-time may be considered the Regent of the State (Malika) and mother of his child, and that she may not be molested in any way."†

Gangadhar Rao was allowed to die with the assurance that his native fidelity would be remembered. But afterwards the empire grew so strong that the Autocrat at Fort William thought he could afford to forget fidelity. ‡

G. L. D.

(To be continued)

* This is a term used to denote cousins in the third and fourth degrees, tracing their descent by the male line to a common ancestor.

† True Translation—Signed. D A. Malcolm, Political Agent, Gwalior—Bundelkhand and Rewa.

Parliamentary Papers on the annexation of Jhanshi, 1855, p. 8

‡ Torrens' *Empire in Asia*, p. 375.

THE IMPERIAL LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL

DIARY OF THE LAST SESSION

There were only three meetings of the Imperial Legislative Council in the month of January last and none in February. The Council resumed its session in March, and at the meeting of the 1st the following work was gone through after the usual questions and answers—

(a) Sir Guy Fleetwood Wilson introduced the Financial Statement for 1911-12.

(b) Then the following bills, as amended by the Select Committee were passed :—

- (i) Patents and Designs Bill
- (ii) Criminal Tribes Bill
- (iii) Indian Ports (Amendment) Bill
- (iv) Indian Tramways (Amendment) Bill

(c) The following Bills were introduced by the official members :—

- (i) Indian Tariff (Amendment) Bill
- (ii) Births, Deaths and Marriages Regulation (Amendment) Bill
- (iii) Indian Universities (Amendment) Bill
- (iv) Co-operative Credit Societies Bill

(d) Mr. Bhupendra Nath Basu introduced a Bill to amend the Special Marriage Act of 1872.

The Imperial Council next met on the 7th of March. After a number of questions were asked and answered

(a) Sir Guy Fleetwood Wilson introduced a Bill to amend the Indian Paper Currency Act, 1910.

(b) Sir Guy Fleetwood Wilson moved that the Bill further to amend the Indian Tariff Act, 1894, be passed.

Mr. Mazra Haque moved and Mr. Gokhale supported an amendment to the effect that the Bill be taken into consideration this day six months. The President of the Council, Mr. Jenkins, ruled it out of order and the original motion was passed.

(c) Mr. Gokhale moved :—That this Council recommends that the amount of the new loan for next year be raised from £5,925,300 to £7,925,300 and that the extra two millions be set apart to

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constitute a new fund to be called the Opium Fund, or, in the alternative, be devoted to non-recurring expenditure on Education, Sanitation, and Medical Relief.

Both the first and the second part of the resolution were rejected.

(d) Mr. Haque moved :—That this Council recommends that the grants to Local Governments be increased by such an amount as will enable them to remit the fees payable in Primary Schools for the coming year.

The resolution was rejected.

(e) Syed Shamsul Huda moved :—That this Council recommends that the grant to Eastern Bengal and Assam for Sanitation be raised from £60,000 to £100,000.

* The resolution was rejected.

(f) Syed Shamsul Huda next withdrew the other resolution which stood in his name, viz.—That this Council recommends that the grant to Eastern Bengal for Education be raised from £ 74,500 to £100,000.

(g) Mr. Sachchidananda Sinha moved :—That this Council recommends that the special grant of 76 lakhs made to the Government of the Lower Provinces for next year be raised to 30 lakhs.

The resolution was rejected.

(h) Mr. S. Sinha next moved :—That this Council recommends that the assignments made to the Punjab under the new settlement be so raised as to cover the cost of raising the status of the Punjab Chief Court to that of a chartered High Court.

The resolution was rejected.

(i) Pandit Madan Mohan Malavya moved :—That this Council recommends that the grant which it is proposed to make to the United Provinces for the relief of municipalities and town areas from police-charges may not be made, and that instead thereof the Provincial share of Land Revenue may be raised in their case from three eighths to one-half.

The resolution was rejected.

The Imperial Council next met on the 8th March, when

(a) Mr. Bhupendra Nath Basu moved :—That the special grant to the Government of Bengal be reduced by the sum of Rs. 62,500, the amount which the Government of Bengal has promised as subsidy towards a vernacular paper to be started in Bengal.

The resolution was rejected.

(b) Sir Sasoon David moved :—That this Council recommends

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that the quantity of opium for export to Singapore and other markets outside China be taken at 10,000 instead of 16,000 chests, and the price at Rs. 2,500 instead of Rs. 1,500 in the Budget estimates.

The resolution being put was rejected.

(c) Mr. Gokhale then moved :—That this Council recommends that the expenditure under Mint be reduced by Rs. 50,000.

After Sir Guy Fleetwood's offering an explanation, the resolution was withdrawn.

(d) Mr. Gokhale next moved :—That this Council recommends that the allotment of seventy-five lakhs of rupees under Famine Relief and Insurance, which is proposed to be devoted to reduction or avoidance of debt, be abolished, or at any rate suspended till it becomes necessary to borrow again for meeting famine expenditure.

This resolution was put and rejected.

(e) Mr. Gokhale next moved :—That this Council recommends that the allotment of seventy-five lakhs of rupees under Famine Relief and Insurance, which is proposed to be devoted to Reduction or Avoidance of Debt, be transferred to Protective Irrigation.

The resolution was rejected.

(f) Mr. Subba Rao moved :—That this Council recommends to the Governor-General in Council that the expenditure under the head of offices of Account and Audit be reduced by two lakhs.

The resolution was withdrawn.

(g) Mr. S. Sinha moved :—That this Council recommends that a library, well equipped with official literature and works bearing on public affairs, be attached to the Council Chamber.

On hearing the Government explanation on the subject, Mr. Sinha withdrew his resolution.

(h) Mr. Gokhale moved :—That this Council recommends that the expenditure on scientific and other minor departments be reduced by Rs. 50,000.

The resolution was withdrawn.

(i) Mr. Gokhale next moved :—That this Council recommends that the expenditure under Salt be reduced by Rs. 50,000.

The resolution was rejected.

(j) Mr. Gokhale next moved :—That this Council recommends that the expenditure under Customs be reduced by Rs. 50,000.

The resolution was rejected.

(k) Mr. Gokhale next moved :—That this Council recommends that the expenditure under Post Office should be reduced by Rs. 50,000.

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The resolution was withdrawn.

(1) Mr. Gokhale then moved :—That this Council recommends that the expenditure under Telegraphs be reduced by Rs. 50,000. The resolution was rejected.

(2) Mr. Gokhale then moved :—That this Council recommends that the working expenses of Railways be reduced by 50 lakhs of rupees.

The resolution was rejected.

The Council next met on the 9th March, when

(a) Mr. Dadabhoy moved :—That in view of the continued depression in the Indian Cotton Industry, this Council recommends to the Governor-General in Council that the countervailing excise duty upon cotton goods manufactured in India be abolished.

After a full-fledged debate in which even Lieutenant Malik Umar Hayat Khan sided with the popular party the resolution was put and rejected. This resolution had the largest number of non-official votes ever recorded in the reformed Council in favour of a motion brought in by an elected member. All the non-official Indian gentlemen voted for it.

(b) Pandit Madan Mohan Malavya next moved :—That this Council recommends to the Governor-General in Council that the duty on imported sugar be so raised as to make it possible for the indigenous sugar industry to survive the competition to which it is at present exposed.

Mr. Gokhale moved the following amendment :—That this Council recommends that the Government should order an inquiry by a committee of competent persons into the present condition of the sugar industry in India with a view to ascertaining what action can and should be taken by the state to save the industry from the threatened ruin.

Pundit Malavya accepted this amendment ; but this being put was rejected. Then the original resolution was also put and rejected.

The Council next met on the 16th. On this day the following bills were introduced into the Council by official members :—

- (1) Paper Currency Bill
- (2) Native Indian Forces Bill
- (3) Births, Deaths, and Marriage Bill
- (4) Seditious Meetings Bill

Mr. Gokhale then introduced a Bill to make a better provision for the extension of elementary education.

At the next meeting of the Council which took place on the 17th,

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(a) Mr. Jinnah introduced a Bill to define the rights of the Mahomedan subjects of His Majesty to make settlements of the property by way of *wakf* in favour of their families and descendants.

(b) Mr. Subba Rao moved : " That this Council recommends that a mixed Commission consisting of officials and non-officials be appointed to consider the claims of Indians to higher and more extensive employment in the Public Services connected with the civil administration of the country."

At a meeting of the Council on the 20th of March, the Seditious Meetings Act was passed, a short account of which will be found elsewhere.

The Council next met on the 21st of March when the following two bills were passed :—

(a) Indian Universities (Amendment) Bill

(b) Indian Factories Bill.

To this last mentioned Bill a number of amendments were moved by the non-official members but some of them had to be withdrawn, some were rejected, and only a few were accepted.

Mr. Gokhale moved an amendment to the effect that (1) " every factory in which more than twenty children between the ages of nine and twelve are employed shall maintain an elementary school in proper condition for their benefit, and attendance at such school for not less than three hours every working day shall be compulsory in the case of each child so employed," and (2) " no fees shall be charged for the instruction given in such a school."

The amendment was afterwards withdrawn.

At the next meeting of the Council, which took place on the 24th of March, some questions were asked and answered and then Sir Guy Fleetwood Wilson presented the revised Budget for 1911-1912.

At the next meeting which took place on the 27th, after some questions were asked and answered, the Budget was discussed and passed and the Council was adjourned *sine die*.

The Progress of the Indian Empire

PROVINCE BY PROVINCE

EASTERN BENGAL AND ASSAM

At a meeting of the Eastern Bengal and Assam Legislative Council, held on the 13th March, 1911, the Hon'ble Communal Petulance Maulvi Hossain Haidar Chaudhuri, Khan Bahadur, who is better known as the "Nabalak Mian" of Comilla, put the following question :—

“Will the Government be pleased to secure the appointment of reasonable number of Mohammedan teachers to look after the interest of the Mohammedan boys in schools?”

The Hon'ble Mr. Nathan replied .—

“The Government already used every endeavour to obtain qualified Muhammadan teachers for employment in Government Schools, and it looks to the Mohammedan Associations to assist in this task.”

The suggestion which the Hon'ble Nabalak Mian made in this question is certainly worthy of him, and carries the principle of communal representation to its logical consequence. It presupposed, for instance, that the delightfully vague “interest” of the Muhammadan, which is so valiantly championed by the Nabalak Mian, begins to put on a distinctive colour or trade-mark even from the *nabalak* (minor) days of the schoolboy—perhaps from the very cradle of the Moslem infant ; and that this “interest” of the Mahomedan schoolboy requires to be looked after by Mahomedan teachers and by Mahomedan teachers alone. The divergence of interest as between Moslems and non-Moslems is thus assumed and sought to be created from the earliest and most tractable period of life. The proposition is as mischievous as it is silly, and does not appear to have been entertained with much favour at the hands of Mr. Nathan. The reply which he furnished is in very indefinite terms and makes no admission as to the need of having a “reasonable number” of Mahomedan teachers for the very laudable purpose of “looking after the interest” of the Moslem boys at school. It says in effect that if there is not a “reasonable number” of Muhammadan teachers at present in employment in Government Schools it is only because there is not an adequate number of Moslems possessing the requisite *qualification* for the

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work ; for certainly the primary object of having teachers in schools is not "to look after the *interest*"—political or religious—of the boys of any particular denomination, but to impart education to all alike.

Will the Nabalak Mian go a step further now and suggest that the standard of qualification should not be adhered to in the case of Moslem teachers, and that Mahomedans should have separate educational institutions at all stages to ensure the best "looking after" of the "interest" of Muhammadan boys ? Whether he does go or no, it is very interesting to note the equally wise scheme promulgated by another member of the Ebassam Council, the Hon'ble Nawabali Chowdhury, for a wider employment of Mahomedans in the public service.

In his budget speech, Khan Bahadur Nawab-Ali said :—

"It is an irrefragable fact that Government has steadily been making an endeavour to entertain Mohammadens in the ministerial appointments, for which the community is very grateful. At the same time, I would draw your Honor's kind attention that in the Secretariat, in the offices of the Heads of Departments, the Accountant-General and the Board of Revenue, there is admittedly a sprinkling of Muhammadan employes but the few that are in the said offices are so low down in the several graduations that it would cost them a Herculean task to crave their passage up. For instance, I understand, that the number of Muhammadan employes in the said offices is restricted to below even half a dozen who are in receipt of a salary of above Rs. 100 against more than a hundred of the members of other denominations. High University qualifications should not always be the only criterion to judge of the merits of a clerk and unless Government be pleased to set aside a number of vacancies in the higher grades for deserving Muhammadan candidates, this community will never be able to make an advantage as it is undoubtedly an incontrovertible assertion that the Muhammadans with their proverbial poverty, neither have, nor will be able to impart higher education to their children."

Here the Lieutenant-Governor and the official members are lectured as to what should or should not be "the criterion to judge of the merits of the clerk." And there is a demand for a number of "special" berths in the higher grades of the ministerial service to be set aside for "deserving Mahomedan candidates." This is the same old tale only in a new garb, which has certainly not improved in its logic by being old. There must be something

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very "special" for the Moslems in everything that the Government may do and in which the Moslems may feel interested. We must be very much mistaken if the officials do not at times, in their calm moments, repent the folly of having initiated the policy of communal preference which is so largely responsible for the many perplexities of administration which confront the Government at every step.

It is making a very large order when the Hon'ble member asks for a specific number of higher appointments to be kept ear-marked for a particular community without regard to their competency for work. For indeed the object which the Government have in view is not merely showing favour to any particular community, but carrying on the administration of the country as effectually as possible. There is, if at all, room for so much favour only as is not inconsistent with efficiency of work. If we are informed aright, those Moslem leaders of Eastern Bengal who are loudest in their advocacy of separation in political privileges and of special preference in the matter of Government appointments, have not yet found it possible to act upto their own precepts in the management of their own affairs. Perhaps many of them have yet to depend mainly upon the help of non-Moslem officers of their own for many things which range from the drafting of those very speeches in which the communal claims are urged with the greatest force and vehemence, down to the management of their Zemindaris. We call upon the Hon'ble Nawab Salmulla, Khan Bahadur Nawabali, and Hossain Haidar Choudhury to publish a comparative statement showing the number and the salary of Moslem officers who have been employed in their estates by them or in the time of their ancestors. Will they accept our challenge?

This year's budget has been shewn to be a progressive one and augurs well for the administration of the new Province. But a good deal of explanation is needed to show as to what this prosperity budget is really due to.

In the first place, it is expected to close the year 1910-11 with Rs. 70,80,000 or more than 56 lakhs better than the budget, but this amount is not due to any growth of revenues or economies in expenditure. The true increase in provincial balance is only 8 lakhs—due mainly to a record increase in Stamp and Excise revenue—the remaining 48 lakhs being made up of special grants from the Government of India for expenditure in future years on special objects. There were lapses in departmental budgets, and

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the reason which the Hon'ble Mr. Kershaw furnished was that "in some cases the departments have progressed so rapidly during the past few years that they find it difficult to maintain the pace which they have set themselves." But as a counter-balance against these lapses were the heavy legal expenses in connexion with political trials ; the item of expenditure for prosecutions in the current year being responsible for 4 lakhs.

The Imperial grants for the present budget year (1911-12) are of two kinds—first, those made in accordance with the terms of the Provincial settlement, secondly special grants from the opium surplus. It will be remembered that the Imperial Government undertook last year to finance five important schemes—*viz.*, organisation of the River Police, re-organization of the Subordinate Police, improvement of secondary education, industrial development, and revision of the pay of ministerial officers. Capital grants, aggregating to Rs. 27,91,000, have been made to enable the introduction of the revision of the pay of ministerial officers (Rs. 37,000), and the re-organization of the subordinate and river police (Rs. 27,54,000). Besides this capital grant, there have been recurring annual grants of Rs. 1,69,000 (for the revision of pay), and Rs. 3 lakhs (for the subordinate and river police re-organization)

Out of the Imperial surplus the sum of Rs. 11,17,000 has been assigned for capital expenditure on education, and 9 lakhs for similar expenditure on sanitation. These grants will relieve Provincial revenues to some extent. But in the case of these education and sanitation grants, the provincial revenues will have to meet the recurring expenses. The total amount of the Imperial capital grants therefore is Rs. 48,08,000 ; but the grants are all hypothecated for special objects as set forth above.

Revenue proper, including the whole of the excise and forest receipts, is estimated to yield Rs. 3,08,86,000. As the whole of the excise and forest receipts have been assigned to the provincial coffers, the provincial Government will necessarily have to bear the expenditure of these departments which would amount to 7 lakhs. The total receipts from all sources will be Rs. 3,94,89,000 and out of this it is proposed to spend Rs. 3,36,80,000 leaving a closing balance of Rs. 58,09,000 which is made of the minimum balance of 12 lakhs, the unspent balance of special Imperial rights amounting to Rs. 36,46,000 and the true provincial balance of Rs. 9,63,000. The province is just under a crore ahead of the expenditure of 1906-07, and while in that year was spent about

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12½ annas per head of population, it is proposed to spend nearly 18 annas next year.

Out of the total special imperial grants (Rs. 52,77,000) recurring and non-recurring, it is proposed to utilise Rs. 16,31,000 passing the remainder into the balances. A beginning will be made at a cost of 5¼ lakhs in re-organising the subordinate and river police while 5 lakhs have been set aside for educational and 4 lakhs for sanitary schemes. After providing for ordinary expenses of the administration, Rs. 14,77,000 has been set aside for entirely new charges, the greater part of which has been given to public works.

The Hon. Financial Secretary gave expression to his fear that "those responsible for the disbursement of the budget grants will find some difficulty in utilising to the best advantage the liberal funds which they will be called upon to spend."

In explaining some of the heads under revenue and expenditure, the Hon. Mr. Le Mesurier lamented the diminution in the supply of fish which is due (1) to an increase in demand following an increase in the number and prosperity of the people, (2) to increased exportation to Calcutta and other Towns, (3) to a reduction in the number of fish by wasteful and improvident methods of fishing. It has been decided to proceed by way of demonstration of the methods which may be expected to produce an actual increase in the number of fish produced and Government has undertaken at a cost of Rs. 15,000 to conduct the experiments in its own fisheries, tanks and ponds.

The Hon. Mr. Melitus attributed the growth of excise revenue to two opposing forces—(1) the general prosperity and increased purchasing power of the consumers, and (2) the restraining influence of Government. "Our excise department is also a practical temperance department." Country spirit, opium and *ganja* shops have been largely reduced. Government is considering the further raising of the duty on opium in certain parts of Assam, and the raising of the *ganja* duty throughout the province.

The Hon. Mr. Nathan in explaining the expenditure heads of Land Revenue, General administration and the Courts of Laws said that the total under these amounts to 85 lacs as compared with 80 lacs in the revised for 1910-1911. The addition is mainly due to 2 lacs for reorganisation of ministerial establishment and 2½ lacs for the Coronation Durbar at Delhi. The main feature of the revision of the pay of the ministerial establishment is a reduction in numbers accompanied by better rates of pay.

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The clerks will for the most part be kept in employment until their superfluous number can be gradually absorbed, and until the numerical strength of an office is reduced to the new scale, some of the clerks will not draw the full rates of pay. The expenditure for law officers has been reduced to the trifling sum of 3½ lacs as compared with 4 lacs of 1910-11, for "it is hoped that next year the expenditure on heavy cases will be less."

Under the head "Police," the estimates showed an increase of 8 lacs over the 52½ lakhs provided in the revised estimate for 1910-11, and 9½ lacs over the actuals of 1909-10. "The general police force of this province," said Mr. Nathan, "is inadequate and ill-organised, and its strength is far below that which is considered necessary in other provinces of India." Further, "the first portion of the reform is the provision of an adequate number of investigating centres with a sufficient staff of officers and constables for each." The main feature of the river police scheme is a series of floating police stations, each having its force of police and a steam launch for patrol duty. The river police will be primarily and mainly a preventive force. The salaries of the superior officers show an increase of Rs 95,000, not included in the Imperial grant, but provided for from the Provincial revenues, which will ensure a closer control of the present forces. Other measures of reform under contemplation vary from the improvement of the police station buildings and police-lines, and establishment of a mounted escort of military police for the Lieutenant-Governor (Rs. 21,000), to the provision of mosquito curtains for police constables (Rs. 4,000).

Under the expenditure head of Education, the estimated amount is Rs. 33,18,000 of which Rs 5,00,000 is from Imperial sources, and Rs. 28,18,000 from Provincial revenues. This later shows an advance of Rs 1,14,000 on the estimates of 1910-1911. The progressive rate of expenditure, from Provincial revenues, under this head can be seen from the figures appended here :

1906-7	...	Rs. 12,27,000	1909-10	...	Rs. 23,39,000
1907-8	...	„ 17,79,000	1910-11	...	„ 27,04,000
1908-9	...	„ 21,68,000	1911-12	...	„ 28,18,000

The eleven lakhs which Sir Guy Fleetwood Wilson has allotted to education out of his opium windfall—and of which the 5 lakhs referred to above is a part—is proposed to be spent in the following manner :—

Technical and Industrial Education	...	3 lakhs.
Primary and Secondary training	...	5 lakhs.

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Primary school buildings and equipment	...	1 lakh.
Hostels	..	1 ½ lakh.
Secondary Education	...	1 ½ lakh.
Female Education	...	1 lakh.
European Education	...	17 thousand.

Under the head "Inspection," the budget shows an increase of 11 thousand over the revised estimate of 1910-11. The most interesting item is the proposed appointment of a Proctor whose duty it will be to supervise all the hostels and messes in Dacca. Mr. Hallward remarked that "it may perhaps interest critics to know that the discussion on this subject of Inspection charges at the recent Educational Conference at Allahabad brought out the fact that in no other province is the number of schools under one Sub-Inspector so large as in Eastern Bengal and Assam."

Under sanitation, provision has been made for an Additional Deputy Sanitary Commissioner who will be employed exclusively on Malaria. The choice has fallen on Dr. Bentley, an expert who at present engaged in investigation work in Bombay. He will join his appointment shortly and will remain in charge of quinine distribution and the conduct of the special malaria investigations for which Rs. 25,000 has been provided. It is noteworthy that as yet the programme of work in this branch is to be confined to prophylactic treatment, test collection and tabulation of vital statistics, sanitary preachings and advertisement of quinine and the blessings of self-treatment. Mr. Kershaw observed that it "may be disappointment to those Hon'ble Members who would wish us to embark at once on extensive and costly drainage and jungle-cutting operations in the mofussil" Rs. 1,44,000 has however been provided for Government quinine which is distributed under cost price, and also for expenditure on posters and advertisements. The orders for this have been placed with Messrs. Burroughs and Wellcome. Four lakhs have been budgetted out of the Imperial grant for expenditure on sanitary improvements, which include the Dacca sewerage scheme (which is estimated to cost 13 lakhs in all), Dacca market scheme, Chittagong water supply, Rungpur town drainage, canalisation of the Dacca khals and so forth. A lakh has been provided for water supply in rural areas.

The Agricultural Department does not seem to be faring very well. Mr. Nathan said "(experimental) farms have been long enough in existence to show that some of them are not likely to be successful." And there have been proposals for the relinquishment of several costly experiments such as opatropical plantation

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and a fruit garden. "The problem as to how to render fertile the soil of the high land of the Dacca farm is proving more formidable than was contemplated."

Perhaps the most interesting feature of the budget was the provision made for an administrative reform which looks fascinating enough on paper. We would try to give here an idea of the scheme in the words of Mr. Kershaw :—

The Circle System During the past five years we have endeavoured to raise the standard of our administration so as to bring the province more abreast of other parts of India In the transferred districts the superior district establishments are still weak . . . the District officer and his staff are unable to make those prolonged tours in the interior. . . . A closer and more intimate touch with the people is wanted, and to secure this we must not only increase the number of officers, but must locate some of them in the Mofussil. this system is called the Circle system The District would be split up into a number of circles, each corresponding to one or more thanas, and to each of these circles an officer of the rank of Sub-Deputy Collector would be appointed. A comfortable house would be built for him and he would be required to live within his charge. His office work would be of the lightest, as on no account must he be tied to one place, but must strengthen the administration by direct and personal contact with the people. He would moreover, emphatically not be a *hakim*, although he might be called upon to assist in criminal administration by holding local enquiries. His first and most important duty would be faster the system—if indeed, as it exists, it can be called a system—of village Government. He would control and guide the Panchayats, and by gradually entrusting to these bodies wider powers and larger responsibilities he would in course of time lay the foundation of a true system of local self-government. The circle officer would supervise the working of co-operative credit societies, he would be responsible for statistical enquiries and reports and to him would be entrusted the management of Government estates."

Mr. Kershaw is confident that by this means "we may free ourselves from the reproach—and the not unmerited reproach—that in the transferred districts the only constant point of contact between Government and the people is the police."

REFLECTIONS ON MEN AND THINGS

BY THE EDITOR

When about this time last year we reviewed the proceedings of the first session of the re-constituted Imperial Council, we expressed serious misgivings as to whether the various representatives of the different communities and constituencies of India would have much scope of usefulness in the new House. The second year of the reformed Council has now come and gone, and things do not appear to be brighter or more hopeful. Last year the Government carried all the measures from the Press Act to the imposition of fresh taxation through the new Council without any difficulty whatsoever. Public opinion was feebly represented in the re-constituted Council, and no vigorous opposition was offered there against any official measure. Perhaps this was owing to the general, and very natural, anxiety among the newly elected members to give the reformed Council a decent trial. The first year of a new scheme is not, however, just the proper time to take a measure of either its success or its prospects, particularly in an experiment in which constitutional changes of government are concerned. This year the Council, under the presidency of a new Viceroy, has passed through a very great ordeal and a very severe test, but we are afraid we cannot congratulate any considerable body of members, excepting members on the treasury benches only, for the success of their activity and efforts. The Government this year also has carried through, without much difficulty or any strong opposition, all the measures it had taken in hand and introduced into the Council.

There have been many important divisions in the last session of the Council on many important questions of public interest ; but the results of the divisions have, we are afraid, gone either to prove that there is not sufficiently strong representative public opinion in the Council or that the constitution of the reformed Councils is so hopelessly conservative as to make public opinion absolutely ineffective in the Chamber. The divisions on the Seditious Meetings Act and Mr. Dadabhoy's resolution on the abolition of the excise duties unmistakably go to show the character of the re-constituted Council. There seems to be a general lack of vigour, of convictions, and of independence in the new Chamber. Excepting a very few members of the new House, the bulk had not the courage to attack

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even such a reactionary and un-British measure as the Seditious Meetings Act. In a House of 66, only 20 had the courage to vote for the abolition of the countervailing excise duties on Indian cottons. The fate of Pandit Madan Mohan Malavya's resolution, recommending the removal of the grievances in connection with the Councils regulations, is too sad to be recounted at length. The manner in which again shoals of resolutions, brought in by elected members on the second stage of the Budget discussion, were treated and how they were uniformly rejected or withdrawn go to confirm the truth that there must be very serious defects either in the constitution or the proceedings of the new Chamber. The only two resolutions which escaped the unfortunate fate of the majority were Mr. Gokhale's resolution on Public Expenditure and Mr. Chitnavis's on assessment in the Central Provinces. On both these resolutions, however, the Government benches found it possible to support the movers thereof, as the official mind was already being prepared to support these schemes from a long time past. When Sir "Dragon" Wilson assumed the portfolio of the finance department of India, it was believed in all quarters that he would thoroughly overhaul the system of public expenditure, both civil and military, now in vogue in India. It is well known both in Simla and Calcutta that Sir Guy had already put his hand vigorously to the retrenchment of all public expenditure a long time ago; and when Mr. Gokhale's resolution had come before the Council, some of the departmental enquiries had already proceeded too far. Under the circumstance, the Government had nothing to lose by taking the public into its confidence regarding the enquiries already commenced in relation to the public expenditure of India. In the case of Mr. Chitnavis's resolution, the administration of the Central Provinces had found the existing terms of assessment to be absolutely impossible to continue for any length of time. The land assessments of the Central Provinces had gone up so high at every periodic settlement that a time was bound to come to cry halt to the prevailing revenue policy. Mr. Chitnavis's resolution, therefore, gave the Government an opportunity which it had been seeking for a long time to set matters right in the Central Provinces. There was another resolution to which the official benches accorded their sympathy and partial support. The subject of Mr. Subba Rao's resolution is nearly as old as political agitation in India, and whatever may have been the explanation given by Lord Curzon some years ago in the Imperial Council regarding the greater employment of Indians in the higher public services of the country, the time had come

when Queen Victoria's Proclamation on the subject could no more be interpreted in a petty-fogging spirit. England was bound to justify her policy in India, not only before the educated Indians themselves but before the whole civilized world, and the civilized world would have none of the policy involved in the exclusion of an entire people from the higher rungs of its administration. The Government of India was therefore bound to set its own house to order, and the sympathy shown by it towards Mr. Subba Rao's resolution does not come to the informed mind as a great surprise. To pretend under the circumstance, as has been done in some quarters, that the Government has listened to the reasoned opinions of the members of the new Council is very idle and the suggestion completely ignores the historical side of the question. Regarding these three important Resolutions, it suited the policy of the Government to throw in the weight of its influence on the side of retrenchment of public expenditure, on moderating the assessment of land revenue in the Central Provinces, and on the greater employment of educated Indians in the public services of the country.

But questions which the Government had made up its mind to oppose, such, for instance, as the reconsideration of the Council regulations and the limitation of time for all sorts of labour in factories, received very scanty consideration at the hands of the Chamber. The superstition of settled facts appears to have obsessed the new Chamber, and members have been noticed to get nervous at the very suggestion of having to oppose a measure in which the Government seemed to have made up its mind one way or the other. Last year we were told that the Press Act was necessary, because the Government had come to think that the liberty of the press had degenerated into a license in India, and a very large number of members assumed for the nonce that the Indian press was really too vicious to let go without a curb. On this assumption a large body of members absolutely offered no opposition whatever to the Bill, while some went the whole hog of supporting the measure which imposed unprecedented restrictions on the press of India. This year also the members of the new Council found it no good to oppose the principle of communal representation on the basis of religion, in view of the fact that the Government of India was committed to the policy. In a whole House, therefore, there could be found no more than a quarter dozen members to have the courage to oppose the principle. On Mr. Bhupendranath Basu's resolution on the subsidised newspaper there was a desultory and aimless discussion, but the division showed that the principle of granting subsidies to

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newspapers was not very much unacceptable even to some elected representatives of the people. The principles of granting subsidies to newspapers for the propagation of loyalty—a commodity which does not grow on mere preaching—and of constituting electorates for Legislative Chambers on the basis of religion are so unwholesome and anachronous doctrines that one cannot but be sorry for the House which supported them and gave them an extended lease of life.

We shall now conclude this survey of the last session of the Council with some personal notes. Mr. Gokhale remains, as ever, head and shoulders over all other non-official members of the Council in ability, grasp of principles, and clear and masterly exposition of questions of public importance. His speech introducing the resolution on the public expenditure of India is a master-piece which we are glad to notice received due recognition at the hands of Sir "Dragon" Wilson and his Secretary, Mr. Meston. This speech, which we reproduced in *extenso* in our last number, ought to serve as a model for all responsible public speaking, and if at least a dozen of his colleagues in the Council would bestow half the labour and attention to their speeches as Mr. Gokhale does to his, the Council Chamber would no doubt command the respect and admiration of friends and enemies alike. Mr. Subba Rao must be credited with having delivered a very closely reasoned speech on the subject of greater employment of Indians in the public services of the country and omitted no facts or reference of any importance. If Pandit Madan Mohan Malavyya had been able to give more thought and attention to his resolutions he could, no doubt, have succeeded in scoring a singular victory. Mr. Bhupendranath Basu also does not seem to have paid much attention this year to his work in the Imperial Council, for more often than not he has at the last session played the part of an absent-minded legislator. He has had too many irons in the fire, and it is a great pity his work in the Select Committee of the Calcutta Improvement Trust Bill and his numerous professional and public engagements left him very little time to give adequate attention to the measures before the Imperial Council. Mr. Sachchidananda Sinha and the Raja of Dighapatiya have distinguished themselves in the Council this session by the number and importance of their interpellations, and have drawn out straightforward pronouncements from the Government benches on many momentous public questions of the day. Tiwana and Burdwan appear to have mellowed down and grown wiser this year, and they both have shown considerable

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courage in frankly giving expression to their views on many delicate questions of public interest. The speech with which Mr. Jinnah introduced his Wakf Bill in the Council at once marks him out as one of the coming men in India. As an able lawyer he has learned the lesson almost to perfection of confining his remarks to his brief and nothing but the brief. In this introductory speech, Mr. Jinnah did not travel outside his legitimate sphere in making irrelevant observations or making impassioned appeals. Instead, he made a sober and moderate statement and concluded by placing before the Council a very strong case. We do not know what has happened with Mr. Dadabhoy, but this year at any rate he does not seem to have made any splash. On the contrary, his qualified support of the Seditious Meetings Act and the policy of subsidising vernacular newspapers has been a great disappointment to his friends. His two colleagues from the Central Provinces, Messrs Mudholkar and Chitnavis, kept themselves in evidence in all the principal debates of the session, while Mr. Chitnavis deserves public congratulation for having got out from the Government a boon for his province. Among the official ranks, Sir Fleetwood Wilson and Mr. Meston have maintained very good ground, and Mr. Clarke has fully justified Lord Morley's experiment of pitchforking a quiet outsider into the very heart of the Government of India. On the other hand, Mr. Jenkins does not seem to have begun very well, nor Mr. Ali Imam. The one has played the part of an autocrat and the other that of an impassioned and injudicious advocate with vengeance. What both these gentlemen very badly want is a spirit of self-restraint and a due appreciation and tolerance of the views of 'the opposition'. Now, one brief word regarding the Viceroy and we have done. Lord Hardinge is a man of very few words and the occasions when he opened his lips in the first session of his Council have not been too many. Yet the few words that he has had occasion to address his Council have given entire satisfaction to the whole country. Even on the occasion of passing so reactionary and repressive a measure as the Seditious Meetings Act, Lord Hardinge made a speech which placated all parties, including so advanced a body of politicians as the Bengal moderates. Lord Hardinge has indeed begun as a *statesman*, and if he will be so consistently courteous and frank during the next four years of his viceroyalty as he has been in this, and if something will be done in the meanwhile to broaden the Council on a more popular basis, he will be able to leave the Imperial Legislative Chamber a great power making for national progress.

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The Government measures passed during the session, excepting the Seditious Meetings Act and the Factories Act, concern themselves with minor questions and details of administration. The Patents and Designs Act, the Criminal Tribes Act, the Indian Ports Amendment Act, and the Indian Tramways Act were passed early in the session. In the latter end of the session a Bill was carried through the Council modifying the Indian duty on exported tobacco and several minor bills were introduced. We give in another page a diary of the proceedings of this Council which may help to refresh the public memory in the matter of the legislative work of the session. The Seditious Meetings Act was introduced into the Council on Thursday, the 16th March, and passed in Council on Monday following, the 20th March. The Select Committee took one day to consider the Bill and the Council one day to pass it. It is an open secret that no important amendments were accepted by the official members in the Select Committee of any of these two Bills. Both these Bills were, therefore, passed almost as they were originally drafted. This ought to open every body's eye as to how official legislation has been made easy in what is generally believed to be the reformed Council.

As to the merits of the Factories Act, we have no hesitation in according our hearty support to its main provisions. The Act was badly wanted in the interests of the helpless operatives in the Indian mills, and the humanity of the Government in carrying it through must be warmly commended. The Seditious Meetings Act, on the other hand, will remain in our Statute Book as a Black Act and will go on proclaiming to the world the measure of distrust and nervousness with which Anglo-Indians view the demonstrations of our national awakening.

The reformed Council has, however, given to private members extended opportunities of introducing Bills into the Council and, though last year this privilege remained a dead letter, this year so many as three members came forward to introduce in the Council Bills on questions of momentous public interest. Mr. Bhupendra Nath Basu's Bill on the amendment of the Special Marriage Act of 1872, Mr. Jinnah's Bill on the Wakf, and Mr. Gokhale's on Primary Education deal with very important questions bearing on the social, legal and educational aspects of our life.

What a change seems to have come over the spirit of our dream in India since 1870. A few years before 1870 an agitation had been set on foot by an advanced section of the Brahmo community to

**The Special
Marriage Act**

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have a form of marriage which would have nothing to do with idolatrous rites or caste rules. This section of the Brahmo community claimed the right to marry according to their light, or, what in these days are euphemistically called, the rights of conscience. Sir Henry Maine, than whom a more honoured name it is difficult to find in the history of Indian Legislature, came to the help of the Brahmos and drafted a Bill which practically reproduced the main provisions of the Civil Marriage Act of England. This raised a storm of protest from the orthodox section of the Hindu community, and in those days the policy of *laissez faire* was carried to such an extent that Sir Henry Maine had to drop his Bill. The Brahmos, however, continued to agitate for the liberty of their conscience and revolted against traditional customs. The influence of Mr. Keshab Chandra Sen was very great in those days, and he succeeded in inducing Lord Lawrence, then Governor-General of India, and Sir Fitz James Stephen, the law member of his Council, to get through the Council a Brahmo Marriage Bill. This Bill again met with very serious opposition from the members of the Adi Brahmo Samaj, then under the lead of Maharshi Devendranath Tagore, who were loth to cut themselves adrift from the main customs of the Hindus. This opposition proved sufficiently strong to kill the Brahmo Marriage Bill, but instead of giving way Sir Fitz James Stephen drafted another Bill to meet the object in view and got it passed in 1872 as the Special Marriage Act. For some time this Act proved good enough for all ordinary purposes of marriage and inheritance, and the dissenters felt no objection whatever to declare, as this law requires, that they did not belong to any of the established religions of India. In course of time, this declaration was found to be galling and oppressive. It is difficult to see any reasons why a man should be asked to abjure his religion and society merely because he cannot see his way to marry according to orthodox rites. In the case of Hindus, such an abjuration practically means a good deal as Hinduism covers all shades and forms of religious faith known to man. There are Hindu Pantheists and Hindu Monotheists and there are Hindu Atheists and Hindu Atomists; there are besides two hundred different types of idolatry recognised by Hinduism. All sorts of philosophic belief, exclusive or eclectic, find reflected in one or other of the Hindu schools of Thought. To say, therefore, that one does not belong to Hinduism is to declare an untruth for the sake of mere social convenience. So also with the Mahomedans, Buddhists, and people of other faiths. Such a declaration, as the Special Marriage

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Act of 1872 insists on, is an insult to the intelligence of the educated mind in every community, besides being an absurd bar to social advance and national fusion. Enlightened Hinduism must protest against the declaration which obliges dissenters to disown their religion merely for the purpose of marriage. Sir Baines Peacock, a distinguished jurist whose name is still honoured in the High Court of Calcutta, uttered in the course of the debate which took place on the Hindu Widows' Remarriage Bill these memorable words: "No political government ought to throw in the way of its subjects any impediment whatever against their following the dictates of their own consciences, either directly by subjecting them to penalties or indirectly by subjecting them to disabilities". This indeed is a sound principle of jurisprudence which all enlightened governments ought to obey in these democratic days. Mr. Jenkins' spirit of opposition to the Bill has, under the circumstances, been a great surprise to all. The home member wants Mr. Bhupendranath Basu to get the country to think with him, a suggestion which is absolutely chimerical on the very face of things and against the traditions of British rule in India. Was Satee or infanticide suppressed with the consent of the people? And what about the Hindu Widows' Re-marriage Bill and the Age of Consent Act? Are they not humanitarian legislations which have forced their way into the Indian Statute Book inspite of a world of opposition? The idea of carrying a whole country or a people with one on a question of social reform is not only absurd but silly. So long as the world goes on as it is, it will be difficult to exterminate conservatism; and if you always get unnerved at any opposition organised by the forces of reaction or conservatism, social legislation have to be relegated to an impossible sphere. Besides, it is forgotten that Mr. Basu's bill, if passed, is not to be a coercive or an obligatory measure. It is merely to be a passive legislation with a permissive force. The law is already there in the Indian Statute Book since 1872, and all these long years no body has objected to this permissive measure. Why should there be any opposition now to the dropping of an objectionable declaration in an already existing law—a declaration which is neither wanted by the orthodox nor any advanced community—passes our comprehension. The dropping of the declaration will make for the greater fusion of all the religions of India and will tend to create a homogenous mankind in this country. On the other hand, it will conserve the best interests of the principal societies by retaining in their bosom all people who under

the existing law have to abjure their religion. Speaking of the Brahmos in 1870, Sir Henry Maine said : "A number of gentlemen come forward to me and ask to be relieved from the necessity of submitting to rites against which their own conscience rebels. They do not ask to impose their ideas on others but to be relieved from a burden which presses on themselves. Can we refuse the relief? I think we cannot." That is a dictum laid by Sir Henry Maine which all reasonable governments are bound to follow. There is now in India a growing class of men who without abjuring their religion or society are anxious to marry beyond orthodox ways. They belong to all religions,—Hindus, Sikhs, Mahomedans and Budhists. If these men want to be relieved from a disability which presses on them, the Government of India ought not to refuse the relief. We have no doubt wiser counsels will prevail on the treasury benches when the Bill comes before the Council for final consideration.

Mr. Jinnah's Bill is a very modest one. It attempts at no change of either the social or the political rights of **The Wakf Bill** Mahomedans. It only tries to remove the defect which has been introduced into Mahomedan succession by some unfortunate cases decided by the Privy Council. It is believed that these decisions have gone against the general trend of Mahomedan law in regard to settlement of estates by *wakf*, and so long as these decisions stand, there are likely to be serious complications in the domestic economy of Mahomedan households. Mr. Jinnah's Bill, if passed, will only make the position of *wakf* secure and no future interference with the custom possible. We are glad to find that the Council as a body accorded its support to this Bill and there are no reasons to see why in due time it will not be carried through the Council.

We now come to Mr. Gokhale's Bill on Primary Education. Though it is a measure which errs on the side of **The Bill on Primary Education** caution, it nevertheless involves far-reaching consequences. For the last few years Mr. Gokhale has been hammering at the idea of elementary education, in and out of the Council Chamber, with a consistency and doggedness which must extort admiration from all friends of India. There can be no doubt of the fact that excepting Mr. Gokhale there is perhaps no other politician in India who could bring the question of compulsory primary education in this country within the range of practical politics in the course of only half a dozen of years. Whether Mr. Gokhale's Bill passes through the Council or not, India cannot and will not forget the splendid services that he

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has rendered to her by bringing the question of the education of her masses so prominently before the public eye. But inspite of Mr. Gokhale's best intentions, there are some defects in his Bill which no publicist in India can honestly ignore.

The provision of empowering the Imperial Government to make rules to give effect to his Bill, for the fixing of the percentage of boys or of girls that should be at school in an area before it can be brought under the zone of compulsion and for the prescribing of the proportions in which the cost of providing elementary education under this Bill should be divided between the Municipality or District Board and the Local Government, does not strike us to be a very happy idea. We think these rules ought to be framed and passed by the local Governments concerned with the approval and sanction of the supreme government. It is not possible for the Imperial Government to make rules which might apply equally to provinces as wide apart as Europe from Asia. If the Imperial Government were to frame these rules they would no doubt be drawn on such hard and fast lines that in some provinces or other they would either be found ineffective or inoperative or inadequate. In the second place, the object of Mr. Gokhale's Bill seems to us to be defeated by the clause in which he provides that the non-attendance of boys would be allowed in case of "sickness, infirmity, domestic necessity and seasonable needs of agriculture or other sufficient cause." This seems rather too wide a net for any father or guardian to get his child or ward out of the school. If compulsion is the object of Mr. Gokhale's Bill certainly this is not a provision which will help his scheme. These certainly can be made the excuse for temporary non-attendance, but the provision ought certainly to be made more stringent and rigorous to enforce the attendance of all boys at least for some part of the year. The idea of compulsion is very good and quite democratic, and if due safe-guards are provided against oppression and high-handedness or against the scheme getting unpopular, we certainly shall like the idea of gradual compulsion being introduced into the system of our primary education when and where practicable. The third defect in the Bill appears to us to be the provision which empowers district boards and all classes of municipalities to levy a special education cess with the previous sanction of the Local Government. This financial question, this question of an extra cess, is the crux of the whole bill, and deserves careful treatment. In the first place, we oppose the idea of a special cess because we cannot

approve of the policy of labelling down every particular requirement as a special want. If we want today a special cess for education, for the life of us we cannot comprehend why we should not have a special cess for the improvements of our sanitary conditions, for the reform of our police, for the separation of judicial and executive functions, and for all those counsels of perfection for which the Government has hitherto been unable to find ways and means. Education in all conscience is a very noble object—indeed nothing nobler than it—and should be the primary concern of every civilized community. But one must grow and live before he can be educated. So one must not be surprised if a special champion of sanitation should come forward one of these days and ask for a special cess when and where plague and malaria are making havoc with our population. With equal justice and perhaps with greater reason one might cry for a special cess to keep the police above temptations and a judiciary absolutely independent of executive control. So long as the police is allowed to terrorise over us and to deal with our person and property, almost as best as it pleases, the full development of Indian manhood is impossible. If, therefore, for all these various reforms, special advocates will come forward with pleas for new cesses we should very soon be in a pretty muddle. In the second instance, Mr. Gokhale and his friends must not forget that district boards, as at present constituted, are not popular bodies at all and are controlled practically by the District Officers. The District Officer may or may not be sympathetic, and according to his temperament he will either take or forego the advantage of Mr. Gokhale's Bill. When he does not take advantage of it, as Sir Charles Elliot's Drainage Act has been allowed to remain a dead letter, it may be an act of injustice to his district; when he takes advantage of it and levies a cess for education, goodness alone knows how the money will be collected, what pressure will be put upon the poorest classes of our people and what a field it will open for temptations and bribes. No district officer has the time in these days to control efficiently the police and the *Panchayet*, and if that be so at the present moment, what will it be like when an additional burden is thrown upon his shoulders? Then again, does it stand to reason that the classes which depend on land alone—the only classes which the District Boards can ever reach, no matter whether Zemindars, tenure-holders or tenants—should pay for the education of the sons of all those classes whom a cess of the District Board can never get at such as the artisans, the professional community and the tradespeople? It is certainly no honest policy

to rob Peter to pay Paul. Another matter to be pointed out in this connection is that the history of special cesses, at least so far as Bengal is concerned, has not been after all of a very encouraging nature. There is no good raking up old controversies now, and Mr. Gokhale knows what we are hinting at. With such discouraging history, with such prospects of bribe, temptations and uncertainty, with the whole thing hanging on the wishes of a district officer, and with no immediate chance of the reconstitution of the district boards on a more popular basis,—is it prudent, is it wise, is it at all expedient to leave such an important matter to the whims and temperament of a single officer? So far as the greater portion of such municipalities are concerned as have the right to elect their own chairmen, the above objections do not hold good; and we have, therefore, no objection to a limited number of municipal corporations being allowed the privilege of levying such a tax if needs be. The most important point to discuss in this connection is not, however, whether district boards or municipalities should be given the power to levy such a tax, but whether it is not the primary function of the Imperial and the Local Governments to provide the money for this cause. Till it is proved to the satisfaction of the Indian tax-payer that it is impossible for the Government to meet the expenses of elementary education in this country, we have no moral right to go to the Government asking for a special cess for education. For a long time past the Government has pledged itself to take the work in hand so soon as the finances of the country will provide the means for carrying the measure through. Thanks to opium, customs and railways, there has been a large surplus in the hands of the Indian Chancellor of the Exchequer this year, and if Sir Guy Fleetwood Wilson would have desired it he could have reserved a good part of it for the diffusion of elementary education. Next year we are likely to have another big surplus, and with no coronation *darbar* at Delhi and with no temporary loans to repay out of any windfall, it is difficult to conceive why about four crores of rupees cannot be spared for this purpose. In the meantime, the Imperial Government has given local governments financial liberty over certain taxes, and why some of the funds raised by the provincial Governments should not be specially ear-marked for this purpose goodness alone knows. It appears to us, therefore, that no sufficient proof has yet been adduced by any party of the Government's inability to meet the expenditure, and so long as such a case is not established no one has a right to call for fresh taxation in a country like

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India, no matter what the cause may be. It has been said by some critics that in all advanced countries local bodies bear a part of the expenditure of primary education and the cases of England and France and Japan have been pointed out as instance. We regret very much that these critics overlook the fundamental fact that in countries like England and Japan the people and the Government are identical and very seldom there are any conflicts between the interests of the two. In those countries, the wishes and the opinions of the people are strongly reflected both in the Local Boards and in the Central Government and the people's will is law. Another fact that has to be borne in mind in this connection is that in self-governing countries where the interests of the people and the Government are identical you can never raise imperial and local taxation just enough to break the camel's back. There you always have to leave sufficient margin to all classes of people to enjoy life at ease, and no new taxation is possible unless the people's shoulders are broad enough to bear it. In India unfortunately we have no hand over taxation, and according to most weighty authorities the maximum limit has already been reached. At the same time it must not be forgotten that in India unhappily the interests of the people and the government are not quite identical, and here at least one cannot be sufficiently cautious in embarking upon new theories of taxation.

We have reserved till the last the consideration of the point that the question of primary education is bound to remain a pious wish so long as the people do not come forward to submit themselves to a cess for the purpose. Those who hold this opinion assume that the Government is determined to shelve this measure either on this excuse or that. We do not know why the honest motives of the Government should be impugned in this matter and why its bonafides should be questioned. We refuse to believe that the Government of India is so transparently dishonest as to back or wriggle out from a definite promise. Mr. Baker, as finance member of India, gave us a definite promise half-a-dozen years ago that as soon as the finances of India would permit, the Government of India would take the work in hand. In 1910, Sir Harvey Adamson as home member, replying to Mr. Gokhale, acknowledged the responsibility of the Government to undertake the work and this year in the official educational conference at Allahabad the Government has definitely undertaken to move forwards in the matter. To suggest that the Government on some pretext or other will never put its hand in the matter is making a very grave

and malevolent indictment of a generally well-intentioned administration. It is, therefore, ridiculously absurd to think that if we do not empower the district boards or municipalities to levy a special cess, the question of compulsory primary education in India will be hung up till doomsday. We find that among those who are anxious to empower the local bodies to levy an education cess are several impatient idealists who would rather throw an additional burden of taxation upon people who can not very often have enough to fill their own stomach and to whom two meals a day are a luxury than wait the time when the Government of India will find it not only convenient but one of its primary responsibilities to take up the work in earnest. If these advocates of a special cess are really sincere, why should they not approach the Government with a prayer to increase the income-tax which will fall mainly upon the classes which owe their position and influence to education itself and who owe it to themselves and to their people to open their purse-strings as wide as possible to educate their lowly countrymen? But perhaps the Anglo-Indian Press, including the *Indian Daily News*, will in that case raise such a storm of opposition that none of these advocates will dare face the music. Why should not there be an all-round increase of the tax on imported articles of luxuries? Why not an addition of salt duty again? But the special advocates of an education cess are afraid to touch powerful classes and vested interests. Oh, the pity of it! As for ourselves, it is not to perpetuate the reign of ignorance in India that we oppose this particular clause of Mr. Gokhale's Bill. We hope our critics will not credit us as being hostile to the education of our masses or to the object and general provisions of Mr. Gokhale's Bill, but it is with a view to oblige the Government of India to undertake a primary responsibility, to induce our rulers to husband the resources of the State, to keep off a fresh taxation from our poorest classes, and to make the best provision for our future surpluses that we have thought it our duty to put in a few words against Mr. Gokhale's provision of a local cess for the purpose of extending elementary education in India.

We are glad that the *Indian Patriot* of Madras which generally reflects Mr. Gokhale's opinions in most public questions holds the same view with us in this matter :—

"The one objection to the excellent Education Bill of the Hon. Mr. Gokhale that is likely to be urged almost all over the country is the power it seeks to confer on our Municipalities and District Boards to levy a special cess in behalf of Elementary Education. The burden on the land elsewhere is very much greater than that obtaining in Bengal, and those who have any sort of interest in the land will, one and all, condemn even a remote possibility of adding to the existing burdens. We are further not sure that the bodies sought to be entrusted with the power of levying the cess are at all representative of the varying interests that are likely to be directly affected by the proposed measure and, therefore, it is not possible to concede that these bodies will not resort to a cess unless popular opinion is ripe in its favour. In order to entrust such powers of taxation to those bodies, they have to be considerably modified in constitution and rendered more truly types of self-governing local bodies."

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In its special Indian Supplement on the last Empire day, the *Times* of London published a remarkable series of articles covering nearly every phase of Indian life. These articles are so valuable that we have decided to devote the whole of this number to their reproduction. Each of these articles will amply repay perusal to the average reader and for the student of Indian politics they are invaluable. One or two minor articles have been omitted for obvious reasons. The usual diary of the month and the editorial notes will be found at the end of the number. Ed., *I. W.*

THE TWO EMPIRES

Two distinct traditions, of equal greatness, have made the framework of the British Empire that we know. One is the tradition of self-government, grown and tended first on English soil, but now sown broadcast on three other continents, and gathering strength with every year. The other is a tradition of trusteeship for subject-people of darker race, whose interests we have taken by gradual step into our charge. The recent history of the Empire culminating in the Conference on Imperial Defence which met two years ago, has focussed attention more closely upon the growth of the self-governing nations and their relations each with each than on the changing problems of the Dependencies. The political instinct which has caused this movement of thought was the natural product of the events of the period: and few will question that it was sound. The national Governments of the Empire have, without doubt, to develop within the next few years some better mechanism of co-operation, if the natural process of individual expansion are not to cause them to drift apart. With that problem more than any other the Conference now sitting in London must be concerned. It is a Conference of Governments, equal in *status*, assembled of their own motion, and competent to speak for all the free peoples which owe allegiance to the British Crown. Such a Conference must concern itself, in the proper course of things, mainly with the direct responsibilities of the Ministers attending it to their own electorates; its most pressing problem is to establish the basis of a joint foreign policy satisfactory to all and, of what would be impossible on other terms, a joint system of defence. And yet the self-governing peoples of the Empire cannot, if their co-operation is to be lasting and complete, forget their joint responsibility to that other Empire, whose peoples owe the same allegiance and share the influence of the same political ideals but do not, and for the present cannot, govern themselves.

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The Indian Empire is only one of many vast Dependencies, but it is the vastest and most complex of all. Upon the roll of those who have served it are many of Great Britain's greatest names ; and in its administration we need not hesitate to claim one of the most striking achievements of our race. Striking it is indeed, for the Government of India was not built up, and could not have been built up, by the efforts of great soldiers and administrators alone. It has been founded upon the labour and devotion of all its Services, manned as they have been by wave after wave of young recruits with that administrative instinct which is the peculiar quality of British stock. This great succession of not great but capable men has kept for us what has justly been described as the only portion of the British Empire which is an Empire in the true sense of the term. The time, however, has passed when the maintenance of British power in India should be regarded as an interest of Great Britain alone. India stands right across the greatest highway in the world ; it is the centre of the East. Through its possession we secured our great predominance in Eastern trade, and from its shores we extended our interests to Australasia, the Malay Peninsula, the Pacific Islands, and the Chinese coast. The Power which holds India must of necessity command the sea. Supreme sea-power would be as difficult to maintain without control of India as control of India without supreme sea-power. It is, therefore, in a special and peculiar sense, the centre of Imperial defence. Were India lost to us, the security of three great Dominions—the Union, the Commonwealth, and the Dominion of New Zealand—would inevitably be threatened by the Power which took our place. We should, moreover, be compelled at once to abandon all efforts to affect the balance of forces in the Pacific and should diminish thereby, to an extent hardly calculable as yet, the security of the whole Pacific Coast of the American Continent. Had we, indeed, no Indian tradition, and no responsibility to the peoples of India for the fulfilment of the great trusteeship which we have undertaken on their behalf, we should still be compelled to recognize, in the maintenance of the British Raj, a paramount condition in the defence of that other British tradition of self-government which our own political systems enshrine.

There is yet another reason why India should be much in our minds in this Coronation year. It stands in a somewhat different relation than the self-governing Dominions, and in some ways a more ancient relation, to the Crown. Over its peoples the Sovereign wields an influence of a special kind. To us, of his own race, he is the symbol of the national ideals ; to his Indian subjects he is the personal embodiment of power. The millions who look with reverence and awe to his coming amongst them in the latter part of this year have no capacity for grasping what we so greatly treasure—the constitutional idea. The Government which watches over their destinies is, to them, the servant of his beneficent will ; it can wander from beneficence only by departing from his commands. The impersonal authority with which we invest the State has no significance for them, nor could the State maintain for a month the power which it exercises by their tacit consent were it not supported in their minds by the vast, although invisible, authority of the Throne. So great is this authority that to many students of Indian conditions it has seemed that the KING EMPEROR should be

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represented in India by a member of his own Family, who would associate more closely in the mind of the Indian masses respect for Government with allegiance to the Crown. We do not altogether share the confidence of some authorities in the feasibility of such a change, though we recognize the great weight of many of the arguments employed in its behalf. It is, however, a suggestion which should be pondered by all who have the interests of India at heart and we are glad to include in this Empire Day Edition an article of great authority in which its merits are advanced. The constitutional aspect of the idea, as the writer of the article says, involves no difficulty which could not be easily solved. The Prince Regent of India could not exercise the executive functions of the Viceroy, but they would pass to a Prime Minister, appointed as Viceroys are appointed now for a term of five years, and responsible like the Viceroy to the British Cabinet. There are, however, other difficulties which might prove great, and there is above all the need for preserving intact the conditions which make the Crown the only symbol of unity which the different political systems of the Empire at present possess. The question is one in which every part of the Empire should feel itself concerned. There is nothing in our political systems which stands for our common citizenship, with its necessary differences of *status* and its widely dissimilar points of view, but our common allegiance to the Crown. Beneath whichever of the two political traditions which inspire the Empire's being the life of the KING-EMPEROR's subjects may be cast, they are all one in loyalty to his person and his Throne, and they must all maintain with equal jealousy the unity of his sway.

In the swiftly changing relations between East and West the British Empire has a special part to play. There is no people which has come so close as ours to the problems of Asia or made so profound an impression on its life. Asia, as the writer of a particularly valuable article in this number makes very plain, is neither changeless nor asleep. Her peoples are quickening into a new life, and her resources in all the factors which go to build up wealth are still almost unused. Her time is coming soon, and on British policy before all others must depend the manner of its coming and its effect upon the West. We are the guardians of a great tradition, but the conditions are changing and with them the forms of guardianship must also change. As we associate the Indian peoples more closely with the mechanism of our rule, so must we give more and more consideration to their sentiments and views in the policy of rule. Their growing desire for industrial development, and with it a measure of fiscal autonomy sufficient to its needs, will test, as nothing else can test, the morality of our power. The touchstone of the Empire is there. Our mark upon history, and history's verdict upon us, will be shaped in a great degree by the course which we now take in Indian affairs.

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ITS PAST AND ITS FUTURE

It is a common and no doubt a justifiable criticism of British rule in India that its aims are not very clear. That is to say, the

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British Government and the British public have never yet sat down and decided exactly what they want to do in and with India. On the other hand, they have in some respects indicated pretty plainly and emphatically what they do not mean to do. There is probably, for instance, an overwhelming predominance of feeling in England, among those who have thought about the subject at all, against any yielding to the claim of a limited number of Nationalists for "self-government on Colonial lines." Instinctively it is felt that such an experiment would be unsuited alike to the past traditions and the present condition of India. Lord Morley said in the House of Lords in 1908:—"If my existence, either officially or corporeally, were prolonged twenty times longer than either of them is likely to be, a Parliamentary system in India is not at all the goal to which I would for one moment aspire." The absence of clear-cut and rigidly defined aims has not been without its advantages. The system of British control has thereby been rendered more flexible. It has adapted itself to changing circumstances and aspirations. If it had fallen to the lot of British administrators in India in the late sixties to have laid down a definite and comprehensive policy for the guidance of their successors, many of their conclusions would almost inevitably have been abandoned during the succeeding decades. Even the ideals of Lord Curzon's eventful viceroyalty are not in all respects the ideals of to-day. The one thing which the British public ought to cherish as an absolute and unswerving conviction is that under no circumstances will British rule in India be abandoned or weakened. There is far too much speculation about its probable fate, far too much loose talk about its possible decline. "If," said Seeley, "the Government of India from a remote island seems a thing which can never be permanent, we know that it once seemed a thing which never could take place, until it did take place."

THE BRITISH CONQUEST

One reason why British aims in India have never been reduced to precise formulæ is that they were involuntary in their inception and very gradual in their growth. No one who has studied history will dream of contending for a moment that the British went to India intent upon the moral and material regeneration of its inhabitants. The pioneers were not even inflamed by the proselytizing zeal which formed one-half of the dual motives of the Portuguese. They slowly assumed the task of administration because they found it imperative to do so for the development and stability of their trade. They drove out their European competitors, they upset inefficient indigenous administrations, they made and unmade dynasties, from the same compelling reason. They extended their rule because every fresh conquest confronted them with new difficulties and new menaces upon their frontiers. Nothing was more unmethodical, or more automatic and inevitable, than the British conquest of India. The newcomers laid the foundations of a system of education, not because they conceived it to be their duty to educate subject races, but rather because they needed educated India to help in their administration. They trained a host of minor executive officers, not because they sought to teach Indians how to govern themselves, but because without Indian aid they could not develop their own rule. They

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instructed Indians in the art of fighting in Western fashion, not that they might learn self-defence, but rather that they might be used to uphold British control. They established the covenanted Civil Service, not so much in the hope that it might be the great moral instrument it has since become, but rather in order to prevent corruption among their own countrymen.

TWO GREAT LANDMARKS

Yet, though there is little substantial evidence of high initial moral purpose of a far-reaching kind, there can be no doubt that it existed in varying and often obscure forms almost from the very beginning. In a race with the traditions and the ideals held by the English it was bound to be early manifested, and to impart some infusion of unselfish beneficence into their acts. The time came at last when it grew very rapidly, until in the end it became a dominating consideration. The annexation of Oudh would never have been undertaken if Oudh had been humanely governed. The conquest of the Punjab would never have been entered upon if the death of Ranjit Singh had not plunged the province into a welter of dismal strife. The character of the English counted for more in the long run than the material purpose which first took them to India and they committed themselves, almost without realizing it, to a task the full magnitude of which is only now perceived. Yet the process of evolution has been long at work, and is distinguished by two great land-marks. One is the foundation of the Civil Service system in its present form, which was completed by Lord Cornwallis in 1793. The other is the transfer of the control of India from the Company to the Crown, which was made in 1858. From the transfer dates the systematic attempt of Great Britain to grapple with its vast undertaking. But the national purpose had already changed so completely that 25 years earlier the Company had been deprived of the right to trade. Though the extent and value of Indian trade still accounts for much of the interest taken by Great Britain in India, the representative of British authority have long ceased to have any direct concern therein.

CHANGING CONDITIONS

Even after the substitution of the Crown for the Company, the general character of British control remained for a long period very different from the conditions now existent. The broad structural outline was still incomplete. The administration was placid, and "hastened slowly." The District Officer was still the father of his people, and talked to the peasantry from his seat beneath the shade of a spreading tree. There were happy districts where the civilian in charge thought himself rather worried if he received a letter from his official superiors once a fortnight. The thick cloud of reports and minutes and returns which now intervenes between the officer and the people had not then descended. The pen had not replaced the more facile medium of personal intercourse, which was understood and preferred by the Orient. The change has, however, proceeded apace in recent years, and though by regulation the District Officer is still obliged to tour for several months every year, he now trails after him an incubus of paper. The pleasant ride in the early morning across the plain to another nest of villages is being replaced in many districts by a hasty scurry in a motor-car. Even in the

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great secretariats, once a longed-for haven of leisured ease, men are more often overworked than not. For the languid transaction of business during exiguous hours one has to look now, not to Simla or Calcutta, but to London. The civilian of to-day, if he does his work conscientiously, is not only overworked, but, considering the risks and the climate and the innumerable drawbacks, rather underpaid. Yet the change had to come, and the life was bound to grow harder and more formal. India has outgrown the patriarchal ideal, and the closer approximation to Western standards meant an increasing resort to pen and ink. How many Englishmen at home see no other visible sign of authority than an occasional policeman? The regrets about the diminution of personal contact are natural, but the Indian civilian could not for ever take the affable squire as his only prototype. The old system was best for the times in which it was practised, and it was a pity that it had to be modified; but the recent changes are bringing new channels of intercourse, and in the reformed councils officials and the leaders of Indian opinion are mingling with an intimacy and upon an equality which they never knew before.

RESULTS OF BRITISH RULE

The actual concrete accomplishments of British rule in India, so far as they have been of direct benefit to the people, are not difficult to discern. First and foremost is the priceless blessing of peace, which was conferred so much for their benefit as for our own. No advantage is less valued by the people of India than the security in which they live. The present generation has known no other condition, and is wont to hold the gift lightly. The memories of the bitter oppression and the exactions of the past have been effaced, and the history of the eighteenth century is very little regarded. The more efficient administration of justice must be pronounced a doubtful, though a necessary, boon. When we bestowed a complicated system of Courts and Codes upon India we did not foresee to what lengths the litigious proclivities of the people would lead them. Nor did we realize that the very efficiency of our judicial arrangements would have grave effects upon the land system in more than one province. It has led to the wholesale expropriation of land, whereas in the old days the exactions of usury would have been tempered by the simple device of occasionally slaying a too exorbitant money-lender. Our police system has on the whole made for good, despite the frequent criticism to which it is subjected. It is not popular, as is only natural in a country where crime has been for centuries treated with habitual laxity alternating with spasms of ferocious severity. Not the least of our services to India has been our repression of the crime of *thugi*, coupled with our diminution of the practice of female infanticide and the suppression of *sati*; yet no one who knows India intimately doubts that if we were to withdraw, widow-burning would at once recommence. We have taken in hand the education of the people, and though we have done far too little, and not always worked on the right lines, perhaps that is a phase, of our activities which, behind all the controversy it induces, is really appreciated.

The magnificent public works of India, which form one of the great monuments of British rule, have for the most part been created in the last sixty years. The huge and growing system of

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railways, though by no means adequate to the present requirements of India, has been the real cause of much of the existing prosperity of the country. The complex system of irrigation, still being steadily developed, exceeds, in its beneficial results, any such system in the world. The British Administration has done much for the improvement of agriculture, and its efforts in this direction have even aroused some gratitude. Its labours in coping with the recurring danger of famines have been placed upon a well-organized basis, and in their thoroughness compare vividly with the aimless neglect of their predecessors. It has not been so successful in dealing with plague, not through lack of endeavour or of expenditure, but rather because the disease is still imperfectly understood; though in recent years there has been room for criticism. The enormous expansion of India trade is an acknowledged result of British rule. The growth of manufacturing and mining industries has been greatly stimulated, and the bounds of Indian capital have at last been unlocked in their support. To the question whether the people of India are better and happier as a consequence of British control, the rulers can await answer with confidence, so far as material conditions are concerned. Despite the poverty and misery still found in the slums of British cities, and sometimes even in the villages, the working men and women of England are, as a whole, far better off than they were at the beginning of the 19th century. No unprejudiced inquirer, who compares the evidence of a century ago with the conditions existing today, can doubt that in the same period a far greater improvement has been effected in the life of the people in most of the provinces of India. To find a parallel we should rather turn to the condition of the *fellahin* of Lower Egypt under Mehemet Ali, as compared with their prosperity under Abbas Hilmi and his English advisers.

UNREST AND ITS MEANING

The tangible results of British rule constitute, as Seeley has said, "a somewhat cold daylight introduced into the midst of the warm gorgeous twilight." The cost has not been excessive, and India has had full measure for the expenditure she has herself provided. Taxation is comparatively light and the burden upon land is not heavy, though the incidence of land revenue assessment is rather too unequal. The theory of "the drain to England" need find no further rebuttal here. It has been thrice slain already. Yet in spite of the manifest success of British control, unrest has in recent years reached dimensions which are unparalleled. The causes of unrest are manifold, and they have been exhaustively analysed in *The Times*. A material contributory cause has been the ravages produced by plague. Behind and beyond all the other reasons adduced in explanation lies the objection advanced in many quarters to our very presence in India. That is the ultimate and abiding origin of unrest, and exists, not because British rule has failed, but in spite of its very success. The increasing prosperity of India may for a time even accentuate the feeling. The stalled ox waxes fat and kicks. Exactly the same phenomenon has been witnessed in Egypt. Yet difficult though the problem of unrest is, it would be fatal to conclude that it is insoluble. We must trust to the spread of enlightenment and education to induce increasing acceptance of a control which is lightly and fairly

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exercised. Meanwhile we have to persevere in a policy of wise and ordered development. England can at least continue to confer material benefits upon India; the rest lies in the hands of the people themselves. An enormous amount still remains to be done. We are only on the threshold of the possibilities of Indian development. The best panacea for the troubles of India lies in the widespread encouragement of manufacturing industries, not because increasing wealth will necessarily produce greater contentment, but rather because the creation of great industries tends to develop support of the existing order of government. The Presidency of Bombay contains a population far more inflammatory than that of Bengal, but it has remained comparatively quiet because its leaders know full well that rash political disturbances interrupt prosperity and progress. The application of scientific research to agriculture is still in its infancy in India, and may bring about in course of time inestimable advantages to millions. Great irrigation schemes still await fulfilment, and the trunk railways need supplementing by many more branch lines. Upon these and similar enterprises England may be well content to concentrate her energies without caring much about the ultimate verdict.

THE IMPENDING ISSUE

There can be little doubt, however, that we are on the eve of a greater agitation in India than any yet seen. It will not be less formidable because it will probably remain, for the most part, strictly constitutional in character. The spasmodic activities of Indian Anarchists constitute a separate issue, to be separately and severely dealt with. The agitation which now lies ahead will call, not for prosecutions, but for careful and not unsympathetic consideration. There are many signs that the political leaders of India intend to concentrate their efforts in the near future upon a demand for greater administrative autonomy. They realize quite clearly that the recent enlargement of the Councils represents the utmost concession of representation which Great Britain is at present disposed to grant. After the courteous Indian fashion, they have been extremely moderate in their speeches in the last 18 months. They were unwilling to begin a new agitation the moment the reforms were completed. They are still more unwilling to raise disturbing questions as the time approaches for the King's visit. The natural and very proper instinct of all moderate, educated Indians at such a juncture is to refrain from creating embarrassing difficulties.

Yet of a certainty the movement is only postponed. It must come when fresh taxation is proposed, and in view of the early extinction of the opium revenue, and the fresh expenditure which is in contemplation, only a miracle can save India from further heavy taxation in the near future. It will unquestionably be met by a demand for more administrative autonomy for the right to decide questions of Indian expenditure more exclusively in India, and above all, for some measure of fiscal autonomy. The ultimate outcome of such a movement must be to bring the political leaders into hostile contact, not with the Government of India, but with the extensive financial control exercised from the India Office. Thus issues of the gravest moment will be raised, and they will not be readily adjusted. Greater liberty in the directions

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indicated can only be granted either to the representatives of the people, or to the Government of India. For obvious reasons, they are not likely to be granted to the elected representatives. Yet the conferment of larger powers upon the Government of India, as the custodians of the interests of the people of India clears the way to possibilities hardly less awkward. A Government of India relieved to a great extent from the fetters which bind it to the India Office would not have to wait long to find itself confronted by a renewed demand for popular government. The Indian leaders are long-headed enough to foresee the position which would then be created. Once the home control is diminished, they would have a far better chance of obtaining sympathetic adherents in England in a fight against official control exercised in India. The problem is thus extremely complex, and is not made easier by the grave unwisdom of recent interventions on the part of the India Office. It cannot be airily dismissed, and the demand cannot be curtly refused, for the agitation is certain to grow. It will lie quite outside revolutionary aspirations, and will be in no sense in conflict with Indian loyalty to the Crown. When it arises, it will tax the ingenuity of statesmen to find a solution and it may call for the exercise of those altruistic sentiments towards India which the British public have in the past expressed with fervour, but sometimes practised with reluctance.

THE CIVIL SERVICE

It remains to say that the chief safeguard of Great Britain in India must, in this as in other problems, continue to lie in the character and ability of the English Civil Servants. By these are meant, not only the "covenanted civilians," but also the engineers, the forest officers, the police officers, the judiciary, and all the other officials, few in number, but great in power, who are collectively the real embodiment of the British Raj. The protection and support of the Covenanted Civil Service should, however, be our principal concern. In its hands lie the welfare and the maintenance of British rule in India. The Civil Service has of late years been subjected to a great deal of unmerited criticism. It has been the scapegoat of faults which were not of its own making, the object of ignorant attacks in Parliament against which it has not always found adequate and sincere defenders. The feeling of resentment at these attacks among members of the Service is not less strong because it rarely receives public expression. Perhaps they are sometimes over-sensitive when assailed, because in the environment in which they find themselves the rougher side of public life is seldom seen and hardly understood. But that as it may, the men in whose hands the destinies of the British in India are really placed are entitled to claim the unswerving confidence of their countrymen at home. We cannot impose upon them great responsibilities and then refuse to trust them. They depend for their success upon the support of their official superiors, which has not always been accorded as it should have been about they depend far more upon the support of the public.

DEFECTS OF THE SERVICE

Yet the Civil Service is not without its defects, which are inherent in the character of the service rather than in the quality

of the men. It is not fair, and is probably not true, to say that the quality of the Service is declining. The same charge is brought, with equally little foundation, against the officers of the Army and Navy, and every branch of the public services. Some of the best men in the Indian Civil Service in recent years have been men of the newer strain ; and in character, probity, and capacity the men of the service to-day will bear comparison with their predecessors of any decade in last century. What is far more true is that the nature of the work is changing, and in many respects no longer calls for the exercise of quite the same qualities. Given the old conditions, men of the older fashion would probably be evolved, just as they are evolved in the Sudan to-day. But the conditions have altered, an Indian civilian is no longer an unfettered pioneer in an unknown land, and it is not quite clear that the Service has been adjusted to the change. India no longer requires so many administrators of the older type ready to turn their hands to anything. It rather needs more specialists, and the Civil Service does not readily accustom itself to specialization. Half the difficulties which arise are due to the sudden posting of an officer to a task for which he has no special fitness. Again, a marked defect of the Service is that there is no adequate means of weeding out men of proved incompetence. A man may pass his examinations in England with brilliant success, and yet after years of patient trial prove unfit for work under Indian conditions. It would be cheaper to get rid of such a man on a proportionate pension than to allow him to cumber all his life the work of administration. Sir George Campbell noted the defect nearly sixty years ago, and suggested the remedy, but it has never been applied. Again, the system by which the Indian Civil Service and the staff of the India Office are, with a few special exceptions, kept in separate compartments, is wrong in principle and ought to be amended. Numbers of officers at the India Office are engaged in minuting and advising upon questions concerning a country which they have never seen, and of which they have no adequate conception. There should be some system of interchanging posts, as was suggested in the case of the Colonial Office at the last Imperial Conference.

DO WE ATTEMPT TOO MUCH ?

The ultimate fault of British rule in India perhaps is that it aims too high. The fault is a noble one, and not to be condemned but it does not alter the fact that we are somewhat liable to overstrain our system by attempting too much. The experience of history shows that all immense and hugely populous Empires have to be content with a comparatively low standard of efficiency. In India the lessons of the past find reinforcement in the common attitude of the people. The East does not particularly want our drain-pipes. Its ideals of comfort and cleanliness are not ours and in its spiritual emotions it seeks refuge from our material cravings. We have never sufficiently divested ourselves of the Western tendency to measure our achievements in the Orient by the standards of another continent. We are all a little too prone to emulate the mental attitude of Sir Elijah Impey, who on his first advent into the Calcutta High Court wanted to clothe the bare feet of his perspiring lictors in thick woollen stockings. If

we could only bring ourselves to realize that in India something less than thoroughness usually suffices, and generally satisfies, our task would be easier, and our rule less irritating to the ruled ; but perhaps in the resultant slackness we should lose our spirit of high endeavour, and even the strength of our control might ultimately vanish. To cease to strive for the highest might be to destroy that spirit which has taken the English race into the far unswept places of the world.

INDIA AND IMPERIAL DEFENCE

THE PROBLEM AND ITS SCOPE

The General Staff, in the memorandum it prepared for the Colonial Conference of 1907, declared that "the problem of the defence of India is one that must at all times concern the Empire as a whole." Mr. Balfour said some years ago that "the problem of the British Army is the defence of Afghanistan." Lord Curzon said in 1909 that "India has become the strategic centre of the defensive position of the British Empire." These *dicta* have never been disputed, and are accepted in greater or less degree by every professional authority, but they are frequently ignored when the problem of Imperial Defence is considered in connexion with the oversea Dominions. In the official report of the prolonged discussions upon naval and military defence at the last Colonial Conference, the word "India" does not once occur.

In any scheme of Imperial Defence India must be considered both for its offensive value and for the responsibilities of defence which it entails. Few people will now be bold enough to deny that if necessity ever arose Great Britain and the Dominions should fight to the uttermost to retain India. After all, as Lord Morley once said, it is our only real Empire. It is the keystone of the Imperial arch which spans the world. We are committed within its borders to an experiment without precedent in history, which draws forth some of the noblest and most exalted qualities of the British race ; for if the possession of India brings pride and glory, it also demands ceaseless effort and many sacrifices. We are also concerned to maintain our rule because India is our best customer. She buys £ 50,000,000 worth of British exports every year, and she is beginning to buy considerably from the Dominions, particularly Australia. The loss of India would not only be an irretrievable blow to our prestige, but it would inflict irreparable damage upon our trade.

THE STRATEGIC VALUE OF INDIA

The retention of India is an essential part of our strategic scheme of Empire. If the peninsula passed to another Power, its possessor might conceivably threaten South Africa on the one hand, and Australia and New Zealand on the other. It cuts athwart the main route to the Far East. It commands the Persian Gulf. It links up our chain of naval stations around the world. The Power that holds India holds the balance of dominion in Southern Asia. Though its possession imposes a severe strain upon our military resources, and though the task of holding it is the primary

preoccupation of the British Army, yet its value for purposes of Imperial Defence probably counterbalances the price we have to pay. If our Army is larger on account of India than it might otherwise be, India nevertheless defrays the cost of maintaining 75,000 of the flower of our troops. Our military position in India enables us to strike rapidly in many parts of the globe. When the Peking Legations were in danger, it was from India that we sent troops to the rescue. It was the Indian contingent that saved Natal, and thus determined the course of the South African War, while the Army Corps from England was still upon the seas. Dr. Miller Maguire has stated that the possibility of such a thing as immediate reinforcements from India "did not once occur" to the Boer leaders. Just as a famous statesman is reported to have "forgotten Goschen," so the Boers forgot the Army of India. The time may come when we may have to fight for India, but in the past it has been a source of strength to the Empire rather than weakness. Meanwhile it furnishes an admirable training ground for British troops, who gain in India special experience which afterwards stands them in good stead. Lord Wolseley once doubted whether Indian service was good for British soldiers, but the bulk of military opinion is opposed to him upon the point, and the prospect of serving in India certainly stimulates recruiting.

THE QUESTION OF INTERNAL REVOLT

The Army of India has three distinct functions to perform. It has to preserve the internal peace of India; it has to defend the Indian Empire against external aggression; and it has to be prepared to send help to other parts of the British Empire, and under the direction of Parliament to wage war upon occasion in other portions of the globe. Considering the magnitude of its responsibilities, the Army of India is the smallest in the world. When we hear complaints of the growth of Indian military expenditure, that fact should be steadily remembered. The Indian forces have not undergone any substantial increase for a very long time, and their increased cost is chiefly due to the higher standard of efficiency which has become imperative. Against the higher charges must be set the great saving effected by the prolonged cessation of frontier expeditions, due mainly to a more prudent frontier policy. The Regular Army of India consists of about 235,000 men, of whom 75,400 are white troops, 2,400 are British officers and non-commissioned officers with the Native Army, and 159,400 are natives of India. To these must be added 35,500 Volunteers, mostly British, but including nearly 6,000 cadets; Indian Army reserves, 25,500; and Imperial Service troops (maintained by the Princes of India), 20,700. The total available force are therefore under 319,000, excluding a few local corps and the military police under civil control, which are of limited value. This small army holds an area of 1,773,000 square miles, with a land and sea frontier of 6,000 miles, and a population of 315,000,000.

The real fact is, of course, that Great Britain has never held India solely by the sword, but also by the acquiescence, sometimes express, generally tacit, of the Indian peoples. If that acquiescence were ever withdrawn, the 75,000 white troops upon whom in the last emergency we must rely could not long uphold British rule unaided. They will suffice, however, to withstand anything short

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of a universal, prolonged, and implacable revolt, which is almost inconceivable in a congeries of widely differing races possessing few arms and no guns. For the purposes of this particular problem, the British troops in India may alone be taken into account. The limitation implies no reflection upon the fidelity of the Native Army. Without the help of Indian troops the revolt of 1857 might have overthrown British rule in India. There were more Indians than Englishmen within the walls of the Residency at Lucknow. The Native Army has steadfastly resisted all recent attempts to sap its loyalty, and enjoys the complete confidence of the Government of India. It has to be remembered, however, that the Sepoy of to-day is not quite the same material as the Sepoy of 50 years ago. He is better educated, of a more inquiring turn of mind, distinctly more intelligent, and possibly more ready to speculate about problems which never troubled his forbears. He reads the vernacular Press, and is rather inclined to think for himself. While he remains at present as trustworthy as ever, he, too, may in time be touched with the spirit of restlessness which has infected India.

It is best, therefore, to consider the military aspects of the question of internal revolt in India solely in relation to the British troops, remembering always that experience teaches that the Native Army is made up of several different races who never act in complete unison. The possibility of a revolt is always present in the minds of the military authorities. Their belief, which is certainly justified, is that the British forces could hold their own against any form of internal outbreak without any help from overseas for many months. The conditions no longer resemble those of 50 years ago. India is covered with railways, and the principal centres are being somewhat tardily equipped with wireless telegraphy. The force that holds the main lines of railway and the principal cities will always dominate India. No living soldier has a greater experience of railways in warfare than Lord Kitchener. It is understood to have been his deliberate conviction, at the time he left India, that the British force at his disposal could keep the main lines of railway open in the event of internal complications, even if the native subordinate railway staff proved untrustworthy. Railways are practically indestructible, as the Boers, with unlimited supplies of dynamite, eventually found to their cost. There is little change of any grave internal danger in India, unless it is associated with attack from without.

THE DEFENCE OF INDIA

The moment the question of external aggression is approached, the possibility of internal revolt in India assumes, from the military point of view, a very different form. It is estimated that in the event of a great war on or beyond the Indian frontier, 150,000 men would be sent to the front at once. Of these, probably 50,000 would be British troops. That would leave about 25,000 British troops, and rather more than double the number of Indian troops, charged with the task of garrisoning India until reinforcements arrived. Whether reinforcements could be sent would depend upon the character of the war, but it may be taken for granted that no troops would start, either from Great Britain or from the Dominions, unless the command of the sea was assured. It is for

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this reason, among others, that the present numerical strength of the British Army in India must always be regarded as a *minimum*.

The issue is complicated by the situation upon the North-West Frontier. Between the administrative frontier and the Afghan boundary lies the mountainous country of the Pathan tribes and their allies. At a moderate calculation, there are probably 200,000 of these tribesmen able to bear arms, and the number may be nearer 300,000. Owing to the illicit traffic in arms, which is now being checked, it is believed that they possess possibly 150,000 serviceable rifles and large stores of ammunition. In the event of an advance beyond the frontier they might prove a formidable menace if they harassed our lines of communication. One school of military opinion holds that we should go in and subjugate them, and build strategic roads and railways in their territory, while our hands are free. The objections to this course are that the cost would be prohibitive, that the operations might be as interminable as was the Russian conquest of the Caucasus, that the tribesmen are now comparatively quiet, and that such an advance would have a gravely disturbing effect upon India. It would also almost inevitably lead to hostilities with Afghanistan, because it would be supposed that the subjugation of the frontier tribes was only the prelude to an advance on Kabul.

The more the problem of the land defence of India is examined the more formidable it appears. After the possibility of internal revolt and the danger of hostility from the frontier tribes are left behind, there emerges Afghanistan. Our present relations with the Ameer of Afghanistan are friendly but somewhat chilly. If they were not, and if an advance on Kabul ever became necessary, the conditions would be wholly transformed from those which confronted Lord Roberts in 1879. The Afghan Army may not be all that its ruler fondly believes, but there is an abundance of arms and ammunition in the country. Experts hold that an invasion of Afghanistan by the line of the Khyber could not now be attempted with less than two divisions, with a third division to guard the communications. The three available roads, two in the pass and one behind its northern heights, would not suffice to keep two divisions supplied. A railway is necessary for the purpose, and its construction was commenced at the instance of Lord Kitchener, but was eventually stopped for political reasons. The reasons were no doubt sound, but the fact remains that until the line traverses the Khyber range an advance into Afghanistan will be attended with dangerous risks.

THE DANGER FROM BEYOND

Apart from the question of hostilities with Afghanistan, we are pledged by repeated assurances to defend Afghanistan against the unprovoked aggression of any foreign Power. The only foreign Power which can menace Afghanistan, except ourselves, is Russia. By the Anglo-Russian Convention of 1907 Russia recognized Afghanistan as outside her sphere of influence, and she has faithfully abided by her pledge. Conventions, however, are not eternal. This is not a consideration of political probabilities, but of the cold hard factors of a military problem, which we may hope will long remain academic. We shall be fortunate if it does, for there can be no doubt that if we were ever called upon to fulfil our pledges

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to the Ameer we should be in considerable difficulty. Unless there is a railway to Kabul, Russia could occupy the line of the Hindu Kush beyond the Afghan capital long before our troops reached there, and no one believes that the Ameer would be able to offer a successful resistance. There is not the slightest likelihood that a railway will be made to Kabul, and so, as a matter of strategy, a conflict in Afghanistan is not inviting. It must be understood that a sudden invasion of India from the north-west is practically impossible, unless the Isar and the Ameer joined forces. The Russian commander would therefore first have to conquer Afghanistan, which might take a year or two. It is in Afghanistan that Russia and Great Britain would have to determine the fate of India. The military authorities calculate that it would be necessary to concentrate half a million men, partly beyond Kabul, but mostly on the line of the River Helmund, within 18 months, in order to offer an effective resistance to a Russian advance. The statement may be recorded without comment. While it is perfectly true that Russia no longer appears to turn her eyes towards India, it is also true that her Central Asian communications have improved, and the Orenburg-Tashkent Railway gives her a valuable alternative line of advance.

THE ANGLO-JAPANESE ALLIANCE

So far we have been considering the Indian problem in its comparatively narrow and local aspects, but there are larger factors which materially modify the situation. The menace of invasion from without is governed by the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, which has another four years to run. The present Alliance specifically relates, among other things, to India. If India is attacked by another Power or Powers, Japan undertakes to come to our assistance. This is not the place to discuss the merits or demerits of the Alliance, but it is too often forgotten that it constitutes a very solid additional assurance of our security in India. The statement has been made that, even before the Alliance was renewed, Japan was willing to hold that an attack upon India made it necessary for her to assist us. During the Russo-Japanese War there was a report, now known to have been unfounded, that Russia was concentrating masses of men in Central Asia preparatory to moving across the Oxus. Japan is alleged to have at once inquired at what point Japanese divisions should be landed in India. The story may or may not be true, but it makes it necessary to affirm that we cannot rely upon the direct assistance of any Ally in holding India. In no sense is this affirmation due to the fact that Japan is an Asiatic Power. The same contention would apply with equal force to an offer of assistance from France. If we are to maintain our prestige in India, any fighting within or beyond its frontiers must be undertaken solely by the soldiers of the King-Emperor. So far as India is concerned, the value of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance lies in Russia's knowledge that if she enters Afghanistan, Japan will immediately strike at her possessions in the Far East. That is a signal deterrent, and if it disappears the whole question of the defence of India will revert to an exceedingly different form.

The re-establishment of Chinese influence in Tibet and along the Burmese border may for the present be disregarded, but one other form of possible menace to India remains to be noted. The

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idea seems to be growing, though it has not yet found much expression, that in the event of a war, the Triple Alliance may attempt to invade India, either from Trieste or by way of the Baghdad Railway. This is the logical conclusion of Admiral Mahan's recent observations upon the relative abandonment of the Mediterranean by the British Navy. The inference is that the way to India is left open. The possibility does not require detailed discussion. On enormous number of transports would be required to make an effective invasion. It would never be undertaken unless the invading Powers had first obtained command of the sea and if that is lost by Great Britain, all is lost. The same considerations apply to the suggested European invasion of Australasia.

INDIA AND THE DOMINIONS

The recital of the responsibilities which India involves may have obscured its value in any scheme of Imperial Defence, but it should be recognized that if India creates dangers, it also confers great and manifest military advantages, which have already been outlined. It commands those portions of the British Empire which are in the southern hemisphere, so long as India itself is tranquil and so long as England commands the sea. Next the Royal Navy, the army of India forms the chief external guarantee against invasion possessed by South Africa, Australia, New Zealand, the Malay States, and Hongkong, and it also helps to ensure the maintenance of our control over Egypt. The Indian Ocean is at the moment a British lake. The Army of India is a powerful fighting machine, always ready for service at short notice. Since its reorganization by Lord Kitchener, its efficiency is acknowledged, even by unfriendly critics, to be far higher than it ever was before. It has already been shown that the Indian Contingent saved Natal. Had it been possible to use the splendid Indian light cavalry, accustomed to operate in spacious areas, the duration of the South African War might have been appreciably shortened. The reasons stated by Mr. Balfour, which precluded the use of Indian troops, were unanswerable. It may be taken for granted, however, that no such objections would apply to the use of Indian troops against a foreign foe and that in the event of invasion the forces of the Dominions would fight as readily by the side of Indian regiments as British and Indians fight in frontier expeditions. We are often told that the field for Indian recruiting is limited, and so it is while we take our recruits solely from the flower of the fighting races. It is difficult not to believe, however, that amid the three hundred millions of the Indian peoples there exist untapped reserves of useful, though possibly not first-class, fighting material. The policy of the Dominions, as well as of the Mother Country, should be, so far as possible, to support all movements having for their object the quickening of a sense of membership of the British Empire among the peoples of India. An Empire which includes within its borders one-fourth of the whole human race should never have to complain of lack of men to defend itself. If it does, there is something wrong with its Imperial ideals.

INDIA AND THE NAVY

The naval aspect of India's place in the scheme of Imperial Defence has still to be considered. No one now thinks of India

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as a Nava Power but time was when the ships of the old Indian Navy swept the Eastern seas. The Indian Navy was a useful and efficient force, and its abolition in 1862 is still regretted by many who remember it. It has since been replaced by the Royal Indian Marine, consisting of a number of fine vessels used for transport and survey work and for other Government purposes. The officers periodically undergo naval training, but the ships are not armed, although the best of them are meant to be used as commerce-destroyers in time of war. The guns designated for their use are usually kept ashore, and some of them seem to have been sent to South Africa at the time of the war. The marine defences of India are subject to strange vicissitudes. Some years ago new boilers made for the use of the torpedo boats then stationed in Bombay Harbour were lost for many months, and the puzzled Admiralty eventually discovered them at Bermuda! In addition to maintaining the Royal Indian Marine, whose value for naval purposes lies in its officers rather than its ships, the Government of India pay a sum slightly exceeding £100,000 annually towards the cost of the East Indies Squadron. As at present constituted the squadron is of no great fighting value, and even the flagship is a second-class cruiser. The payment is to a great extent made for services rendered by the Royal Navy in policing the Persian Gulf.

The Imperial Defence Conference of 1909 has raised new issues concerning the participation of India in the naval defence of the Empire, which must be said to be at present inconsiderable. Australia has agreed to maintain a unit consisting of one Indomitable, three second class cruisers, six destroyers, three submarines, though this unit will presumably be afterwards enlarged upon the lines of Admiral Henderson's report. The China Squadron, it is proposed, should be remodelled upon a similar basis. New Zealand furnishing its Indomitable. South Africa may eventually provide another unit. The scheme is believed also to suggest the conversion of the East Indies Squadron into another unit, though the small ships for regular service in the Persian Gulf would no doubt still be required. India was apparently not consulted before the proposition was made public, and it is not yet clear whether the Government of India will be expected to contribute towards it. The question is, of course, one of finance. The contention of most Indian politicians is that India already pays over £20,000,000 annually for defence, and they oppose further naval expenditure in addition. On the other hand, it is urged that three hundred millions of people cannot be defended cheaply, that India cannot depend upon her land forces alone, and that if each great unit of the Empire is to be self-contained, India must bear her part in the task of naval defence. The question is complicated by the fact that the most important naval base in the Indian Ocean is Colombo which is not under Indian control.

Whatever may be the correct solution of the difficulty, a settlement is not made easier by the attitude of the British Government and the self-governing Dominions. If India is to become a vital and willing member of the Imperial organization she must be given some share in its councils. The principle upon which

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Imperial co-operation for defence should be based is, above all things else, willingness. In the case of India we have the necessary alternative of compulsion, and are ready to exercise it, but the compulsion should not be automatic when fresh developments are suggested. The Government of India, subject to the control of the Secretary of State, retain the sole right to decide questions of expenditure upon defence. The representatives of the Indian peoples may criticize, but they cannot decide. They have, however, some right to be consulted and to make their views heard before decisions are made. Until their claims are recognized, India can never be expected to become a completely willing unit of the Empire.

THE EXTERNAL AFFAIRS OF INDIA

THEIR MAGNITUDE AND VARIETY

A man who derived his knowledge of India solely from an orographical map might very well be pardoned for inquiring why the country had any external affairs at all. There are few great populated regions of the world which seem to have been so effectively designed for isolation. The people themselves were wont to think of "The Black Water"—as in accents of dread they styled the sea—as a barrier which they should not cross. On land they were shielded by the gigantic natural rampart of the Himalayas, by the arid wastes of Baluchistan and Mekran, by the dense forests and wild mountainous country on the borders of Yunnan and Siam. Beyond lay obstacles almost equally formidable, the deserts of Eastern Persia, the grim line of the Hindu Kush, the icy uplands of the Pamirs, the vast inhospitable emptiness of Tibet. Well may its earlier inhabitants have fancied that India was cut off by natural screens from intercourse with the rest of the world.

EARLY INVASION

Yet from the beginning of recorded history India has never been really isolated. The sea has been a highway, and not a protecting moat. The mariners of Babylonia carried to India, as they did to China, ideas which profoundly modified Hindu thought. The trading junks of China once thronged the harbour of Bombay. There was never a time afterwards when the Arabian Sea and the Bay of Bengal were not furrowed by the keels of ships. By the sea came da Gama, and all the wave of coastal conquest which followed in his wake. The cannon seized from Turkish fleet still lie rusting on the shores of Kathiawar. The English arrived by sea, and their rule is maintained in the last resort by sea power. Nor was India ever more shielded from intrusion on her land frontier than she has been upon her coasts. Her long and stirring history shatters the myth of isolation which grew in the West in the days when the rise of Islam barred the pathway to the Orient. The more ancient and mediæval Asia is studied the more it is seen that the whole continent has always been conspicuous for great migratory impulses among large sections of its people. The Himalayas and the Hindu Kush, the desolation of Southern Afghan-

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istan and Mekran, never sheltered India while there were passes to be scaled and desert paths to be traversed. The tale of invasions of India began with the irruption of the light-skinned race which poured into the Punjab, and it has hardly ended with the indomitable Chinese Army which made peace with Nepal a century ago when almost at the gates of Khatmandu. In the interval, horde after horde of conquerors has swept through the passes of the north-west to the sack of Hindustan. If mere raids are counted, the number of invasions is not to be told. Mahmud of Ghazni raided India thirty times, and the remnants of the great city of Patan-Somnath, by the yellow sands of Verawal, attest his iconoclastic fury. He was the second great historical invader of India, who, coming thirteen hundred years after Alexander the Great, entered by way of the country north of the Khyber. Then followed the first Moghuls, the Turks under Tamerlane, Baber and his Amirs, Nadir Shah and his Persian host, and the final invasions of the Afghans.

Only twice has there been a movement in the reverse direction, on each occasion headed by the British. The two British invasions of Afghanistan were, historically speaking, little more than raids. The rapidity of the exploit of Alexander is never likely to be repeated. His men lived on the countries they invaded. Modern armies require huge transport, not only for food and forage, but also for munitions of war. If India ever again becomes the prize of conflict between contending nations, the ground of battle will probably be sought in Afghanistan, and both sides will be forced to move slowly. A cloud of horsemen alone will never again ride through the mountains to seek empire over Hindustan.

INDIA'S FOREIGN INTERESTS

India, then, though probably less vulnerable owing to the changed conditions of modern warfare, has a direct and even grave interest in external affairs. She has to guard her approaches, so far as may be; to endeavour to preserve peaceful conditions beyond her borders, lest her own peoples become disturbed; and to protect and develop her trade with other countries. In the earlier phases of British rule, when communication with Europe was difficult, the administrators of India took an active interest in the affairs of the whole East. The ships of the old Indian Navy, a force which was abolished when Crown control was substituted for Company control, sailed and fought throughout all the Eastern seas, from Basra to the Spice Islands. A Viceroy of India went in person to the conquest of Java. More recently, the immediate relations of the Government of India with other Asiatic countries have been greatly contracted, because steam and the telegraph have made it unnecessary for the British Government at home to delegate its authority. Some years ago a Royal Commission very clearly defined the present extent of the foreign interests of India and its conclusion may be briefly summarised. The Commission declared that India had :—

- (1) Sole interest in punitive expeditions on her borders.
- (2) A direct and substantial interest in questions affecting Persia, the coasts and islands of Arabia, and the Persian Gulf; in questions affecting Afghanistan, and that part of Central Asia which is adjacent to her borders and Afghanistan; in questions

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affecting Siam ; in keeping open the Suez Canal ; in maintaining order in Egypt so far as the security of the Canal is affected ; and possibly on the coasts of the Red Sea, though not in the Sudan.

(3) A modified interest in questions affecting the East Coast of Africa as far as Zenzibar and the African islands of the Indian Ocean, except Madagascar ; and in questions affecting China and the Malay Peninsula.

THE FOREIGN DEPARTMENT

At present the Government of India control Aden and the protected tribal territory in its vicinity, and exercise a protectorate over the island of Socotra. They have all the maritime tribes of the coast between Aden and Oman, including the Hadramaut, under their protection, as well as the islands of Bahrein, in the Persian Gulf. They exercise a controlling influence over the Trucial chiefs of the Pirate Coast, in the Gulf, and maintain special and exclusive relations with the Sheikh of Koweit. They protect Musulman pilgrims to Mecca and Kerbela, and administer a large fund for the maintenance of priests at the Shiah mausolea of Kerbela and Nejef. They pay £6,000 a year towards the cost of the British Legation in Teheran and various Consular establishments in Northern Persia, and maintain at their own charges a chain of Consular officers between Baghdad and Meshed. They subsidize the Ameer of Afghanistan to the extent of £123,000 annually, and maintain direct political relations with his Majesty, being represented at Kabul by an Indian Musulman agent. They have a representative in Chinese Turkestan, and conduct certain business direct with the Tibetan authorities. They pay a sum averaging £12,500 annually towards the cost of the British diplomatic and Consular establishments in China, and settle local border questions direct with the Chinese authorities of the province of Yunnan. The reality of Indian interests on the Siamese frontier is denoted by the fact that India pays the cost of the British Consulate at Chiangmai, in the teak districts of Siam.

The external affairs of India are in the hands of the Foreign Department, which also deals with the frontier tribes and with the whole of the Native States of India. As the Foreign Department further has control of the North-West Frontier Province and British Beluchistan, its task is enormous and complicated. As the head of the Department is the Foreign Secretary, there is no Foreign Member of the Viceroy's Executive Council, the portfolio being usually held by the Viceroy himself.

THE NORTH-WEST FRONTIER

The tribes on the North-West Frontier are not the only frontier tribes with which the Government of India have to deal, but they constitute a primary and perennial problem. The tribesmen on the borders of Assam and Burma are comparative savages, extremely blood-thirsty on occasion, still addicted in some cases to the artless custom of collecting heads, but indifferently armed, and with no capacity for cohesive action. The men of the North-West are sufficiently in touch with civilisation to be proficient in the use of fire-arms, and they are far more intelligent and capable. Every man is a warrior. Though divided into innumerable clans and septs, and prone to fierce quarrels among themselves, through them all

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there runs the green thread of Islam. They will unite with fanatical zeal at times, sinking their differences for the common purpose of opposing the British. Probably, if they mustered their full strength old and young, they could put 200,000 fighting men into the field, though not all of equal fighting value. The great influx of arms from the Persian Gulf during the last three or four years has enormously increased the offensive capacity of the tribesmen. The number of modern rifles now distributed among them has been variously estimated at from 80,000 to 150,000, and is probably much nearer the larger figure than the smaller.

Strictly speaking questions affecting the frontier tribes do not come within the category of external affairs. They dwell within the political frontier of India, but outside the administrative frontier. They are practically independent, but many of them receive allowances conditional upon good behaviour. For many years punitive expeditions against them were frequent, but during the last 13 years the peace of the frontier has rarely been broken. Lord Curzon created the North-West Frontier Province, a step which has been conspicuously successful, and he developed a policy the essence of which was the withdrawal of British forces from advanced positions and the employment of tribal forces in the defence of tribal country. It has worked so well that frontier wars have almost ceased to figure in the Indian Budget.

Nevertheless the frontier is always like a powder magazine which a spark may explode. Some military experts argue that the tribesmen should be finally subjugated right up to the political frontier. The insuperable objections are that the cost would be prohibitive, the operations would be prolonged, and a war with Afghanistan would inevitably follow. Whenever a frontier rising occurs the blame is always laid on the fanatical *mullahs*, who stir the tribesmen to frenzy. It is true that the *mullahs* are usually responsible, but they never preach war without a reason. The gradual advance of British influence was unquestionably the ultimate cause of the rising which ended in the Tirah War. A contributory factor at present is that the tribes find it increasingly difficult to exist. In former times they depended largely on raids into the plains. The extension of British control has rendered raiding difficult and dangerous, and certain to result in retaliatory measures. The Mahsud Waziris are at present the most troublesome tribe on the frontier, and the real reason is that they have not sufficient cultivable land to maintain themselves. The remedy lies, among other things, in judicious grants of land.

AFGHANISTAN

The Kingdom of Afghanistan has been an abiding preoccupation of the British in India ever since their outposts reached the frontier hills. The Afghans held the Derajat, and actually ruled in Peshawar, early last century. When therefore, we complain that the tribesmen on our side of the frontier are wont to turn their gaze too frequently towards Kabul, it is only fair to remember that they do so in pursuance of conditions which existed almost within memory of men still living. The Sikhs drove the Afghans out of Peshawar and Bannu, and the British in turn became their successors upon the annexation of the frontier. The then ruler of Afghanistan, Yakub Khan, only relinquished in 1879 his claim to the Khyber

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and the Mohmand country, Tirah and the adjacent regions, and the districts of Pishin and Sibi in Baluchistan. The actual frontier has been still more recently demarcated, and certain portions remain undefined. So recently as 1849 an Afghan force fought against the British at the battle of Gujerat, in the vain hope of recovering their possessions in India.

The first direct intervention of Great Britain in Afghan affairs ended in disaster. An army which was sent to establish Shah Shuja on the Throne of Kabul was massacred in 1842, mostly in the Jagdallak defile. Stern retribution was exacted, but when Shah Shuja was assassinated the Government of India allowed his rival, Dost Mahomed, to resume possession of his kingdom. They even helped him to regain possession of Herat, which had been seized by the Persians, by sending an expedition to Persia in 1855. The intrigues of his successor, Sher Ali, with Russia led to the second invasion of Afghanistan in 1878. Kandahar and Jellalabad were quickly occupied and Lord Roberts took the Peiwar Kotal. Sher Ali died, and a treaty was negotiated with his son, Yakub Khan, who not only ceded various districts to the British, but agreed to accept a Resident at Kabul. The Resident, Cavagnari, was speedily murdered, and a British army marched to Kabul. Yakub Khan abdicated, and his Throne was offered by the British to Abdur Rahman Khan, a grandson of Dost Mahomed. In return Abdur Rahman, while preserving his own independence, agreed that his external relations with foreign Powers should be subject to the control of the Government of India. Upon that agreement, which still subsists, the whole Afghan question turns.

THE SECRET OF AFGHAN POLICY

Though Abdur Rahman faithfully abided by his obligations the secret of his policy was that he held the British at arm's length. He spent the rest of his life in establishing his authority in the outlying portions of his dominions. The British only made him Ameer of Kabul, and left him to fend for himself. When he died his writ ran without question to the utmost confines of Afghanistan. He ruled his people with great severity, and created an army of some efficiency, though its value has since declined. He established various manufactures, including factories for arms, but steadfastly set his face against the introduction of railways. His object was to surround his country, in effect, with a ring fence. Though he kept clear of Russia, and though Russia, on her part, had already in 1873 declared Afghanistan to be outside her sphere of influence, there can be no doubt that Abdur Rahman conceived his safety to lie in playing off Russia and Great Britain against each other. While he held comparatively aloof Great Britain always had in mind the possibility that he might lean towards Russia. While he maintained definite relations with Great Britain, Russia was always ready to contemplate the chance of closer union between Great Britain and Afghanistan, which might prove inimical to Russian interests. Abdur Rahman thought, perhaps with justification, that his real security lay in maintaining the isolation of Afghanistan, and that it was discreet not to lean too palpably to either side. In the belief that he thus cherished lies the explanation of the numerous minor incidents which occasionally placed some strain upon his relations with the Government of India.

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BRITISH PLEDGES TO AFGHANISTAN.

When Abdur Rahman was made Ameer he received an assurance that if any foreign Power committed acts of aggression upon Afghanistan, the British Government would come to his aid in the manner it thought best. The assurance was repeated at the time of the Durand Agreement in 1893. After he died in 1901 it was renewed with his son Habibullah on the conclusion of a new treaty by Sir Louis Dane at Kabul early in 1905. Great Britain is, therefore, in effect, pledged to undertake the defence of Afghanistan if the country is invaded. The position is, however, somewhat complicated by the Anglo-Russian Convention of 1907. In that Convention Russia again declared Afghanistan to be outside the sphere of Russian influence though, as Lord Curzon pointed out in the House of Lords in 1908, it was a declaration made on that occasion for the twelfth time. Great Britain responded by declaring that British influence would be used in Afghanistan "only in a pacific sense," and though the statement represented the general character of British policy, it was the first time that such an assurance had been formally conveyed to Russia. The rest of the provisions concerning Afghanistan need not be here quoted. The difficulty caused by the Convention was that the validity of the Afghanistan section was made dependent upon the consent of the Ameer. Habibullah has never signified his consent, because he considers that he ought to have been consulted before the Convention was signed. He was not consulted beforehand because the two Governments could not face the interminable delays involved in a reference to Kabul ; and it is believed, though never officially stated, that both Governments have now waived the clause about the Ameer's consent, and mutually agreed to regard the Afghanistan section as operative.

THE AMEER'S ATTITUDE

The Ameer is understood to regard the Convention with dislike because he perceives that a better understanding between Russia and Great Britain regarding Afghanistan renders largely nugatory the traditional policy of his dynasty. Obviously he cannot play off against each other two Powers who are fully agreed about their respective policies towards Afghanistan. It has been alleged, though never publicly proved, that had there been no Convention emissaries from the Afghan side of the border would not have stirred up the revolt of the Mohmands and the Zakka Khel in 1908. Whether that be true or not, the Convention has left traces of uneasiness in Anglo-Afghan relations. Yet intercourse between Peshawar and Kabul is not without cordiality, as last year a Joint Commission met on the frontier to settle various local disputes.

Much misconception prevails about the present Ameer. Though he has no very restrained idea of his own importance, he has considerable ability, and his position is by no means insecure. His recent policy of permitting the distribution of arms broadcast among his subjects is now believed to have been deliberate. His visit to India taught him that his standing army was of little value and at a great review at Agra he reviled his sirdars for having deceived him ; but he knew that, with rifles in their hands and among their own hills, his people were among the finest guerilla

fighters in the world. The risk of scattering arms throughout the country was great, but he left himself strong enough to take it. The real index of his strength is that, whereas his father had to crush three rebellions, Habibullah has held the Throne for ten years, and even left his country for months, and never had a shot fired against him. He seems to have an excellent understanding with his brother Nasrullah, despite reports to the contrary. The Ameer leads the progressive element, and Nasrullah controls the more orthodox people and the reactionaries, but their aims are probably identical. The voluntary isolation of Afghanistan, though not without difficulties and dangers, doubtless best suits the policy of Great Britain. Soldiers contend with some justice that we cannot be in a position to fulfil our responsibilities to Afghanistan unless roads and railways are made, and the Afghan troops are better trained ; but precedent and pledges alike forbid any departure from existing conditions.

THE PERSIAN GULF.

If the North-West Frontier of India is always more immediate in its possibilities of trouble, the Persian Gulf remains the real danger spot in the external affairs of India. It is the only point whence British rule in India can be effectively menaced—not overthrown, be it remembered, but menaced and harassed. The way to the conquest of India probably still lies, as of yore, through Afghanistan. But it is quite possible, under certain circumstances for a Great Power to worry the British in India, and to create among the Indian peoples an impression of the possible Impermanence of British rule, without advancing to a direct attack. Russia, from the farther side of the Oxus, was able to produce innumerable “alarms and excursions.” How much more effective would be the veiled hostility of a Power seated, not beyond a sea of mountains, but on the shore of the Persian Gulf, or within sight of the Arabian Sea?

The comparative tranquility of British rule in India has been due, among other things, to the fact that no other Great Power of militant strength has been within easy reach. All round India lie regions which do not threaten her—the still unknown territories of Southern Arabia, the desolate ridges and valleys of Mekran, the vast bulwarks of the Hindu Kush and the Himalayas, the enormous solitudes of Tibet, the dark forests of the Brahmaputra and the Salween and Mekong, the uplands of Yunnan, the neutralized plains of Siam. The one vulnerable place which lies open to easy acquisition, and extends a tempting invitation, is the Persian Gulf. Turkey, with Germany at her back, sought to aggrandize herself in the Gulf region even in the days of Abdul Hamid. The weakness of Persia, whose shores and islands command the entrance to the Gulf, is a constant source of anxiety. A foreign Power established in Gulf waters, even without armaments, and for the ostensible purpose of commerce, or to gratify that passion for the coal trade which afflicts all great Powers, would shake the stability of British rule to its foundations without firing a single shot. India's credit would be impaired, the growth of industries would be checked, the flow of native capital into commercial enterprises would instantly cease. The peoples of India have seen alien rulers rise and fall

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too often for our comfort. The presence of a foreign Power in the Persian Gulf would assuredly suggest to them the handwriting on the wall.

THE BRITISH IN THE GULF

Hence ever since their first advent into India the British have been preoccupied about the Persian Gulf. Not for 100 years, as is sometimes stated, but for 300 years, they have sought to maintain a policy excluding others from that inland sea. In 1621 the East India Company entered into a treaty with the Shah of Persia by which they agreed "to keep two men-of-war constantly to defend the Gulf," and the British flag has been flown there ever since. In the following year they joined the Persians in ejecting the Portuguese from Hormuz, the first of a long series of encounters which always aimed at maintaining British supremacy. How the Gulf was cleared of all intruders, how piracy was suppressed and slavery terminated, how the chiefs of the Arabian coast were pacified and restrained, how the Gulf was turned from a marine Alsatia into a waterway as peaceable as the Irish Sea, how its coasts were buoyed and surveyed and lighted and policed, how Great Britain took no territory and claimed no advantage which other nations might not share, are stories too long to be told again. Possibly too much stress has been laid upon British services in the Persian Gulf. They are very great, but they were performed for our own interest and security, and we cannot expect other Powers to register self-denying ordinances out of sheer gratitude. We can only preserve our predominance and protect the rights we have created by showing ourselves determined to resist any attempt at aggression.

OFFICIAL DECLARATIONS

That determination has been repeatedly and emphatically expressed by the British Government. In 1903 Lord Lansdowne, then Foreign Secretary, said in the House of Lords:—"I say it without hesitation, we should regard the establishment of a naval base or of a fortified post in the Persian Gulf by any other Power as a very grave menace to British interests and we should certainly resist it with all the means at our disposal." In 1907, when the Anglo-Russian Convention was signed, Sir Edward Grey drew attention to "the special interests possessed by Great Britain in the Gulf," and the Russian Government "explicitly stated that they do not deny" them, a statement of which the British Government formally took note. Both before and since these declarations the attitude of Great Britain regarding the Persian Gulf has been repeatedly made clear by Ministers of both parties.

Great Britain maintains in the Persian Gulf a Resident and Council-General, who is jointly responsible to the Government of India and the Foreign Office, and has his headquarters at Bushire. Under him are Consuls at various points, and there are also a number of British representatives in important centres of Southern Persia. British gunboats patrol the Gulf, protect the native dhows from capture in the date season, preserve at the pearl fisheries, and stop gun-running. The chiefs who inhabit the Pirate Coast of Arabia maintain a maritime truce under British supervision, and refer local disputes to the Resident. The island of Bahrein are under British protection and the Sheikhs of Koweit and Mohammerah maintain special arrangements with Great Britain. To

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catalogue the varied activities of British officers in the Gulf and its vicinity would be a formidable undertaking.

THE PRESENT POSITION

Formerly the two Powers who seemed chiefly disposed to challenge British influence in the Persian Gulf were France and Russia. Changed political conditions have led them to modify their policy. Since the conclusions of the Anglo-Russian Convention Russia has ceased to display her former disquieting interest in the Gulf. France, too, no longer endeavours to acquire a preferential position in the State of Oman, and the only remaining difference with the Republic relates to certain treaty rights under which gun-runners still find shelter at Muscat. The new factors are Turkey and Germany. Turkey is not really a new factor, for Midhat Pasha in the seventies made large acquisitions on the Arabian coast ; but since the Revolution Turkish attempts to obtain increase influence on the Arabian side of the Gulf have grown more marked. Turkish claims to the peninsula of El Katar have never been acknowledged either by Great Britain or the local tribesmen, and are only ineffectively established. Germany began by not very successful attempts to develop a trade with Gulf ports, and followed by still less fortunate endeavours by German agents to gain possession of various islets. A larger issue, in which Germany and Turkey are jointly interested is presented by the Baghdad Railway. The question whether this projected line will infringe British interests in the Gulf is a subject of much controversy. Great Britain cannot object in the line terminating at Basra, which is indisputably Turkish, but has the right under agreements to decide whether it shall be continued to Koweit. Some experts hold that a terminus at Basra will not be a menace to British interests, and think that Great Britain should confine herself to refusing to sanction a terminus at Koweit ; but the British Government is inclined to entertain an invitation to assist in building the section from Baghdad to the sea, if sufficiently satisfactory terms can be arranged. In that case the terminus will probably be at Koweit. It may be regarded as tolerably certain that, whatever is the upshot of the negotiations respecting the Baghdad Railway, the British position in the Gulf will be less undisputed, and more difficult to maintain, in the future than it has been in the past. The more reason, therefore to exercise vigilance in safeguarding British interests, which will not be accomplished by speeches alone.

OTHER COUNTRIES

The problems of Afghanistan and the Persian Gulf have been discussed at considerable length, because they bulk most largely in the external affairs of India. They by no means exhaust the foreign interests of the Indian authorities. Next in importance comes the question of Persia, which is to a great extent distinct from that of the Gulf. The welfare of Persia and the preservation of Persian independence, is a matter of great concern to India. The present policy of Great Britain and Russia, acting in conjunction, is to abstain as far as possible from intervention, in the internal affairs of Persia. It cannot, however, be implicitly observed without certain qualifications. While the Teheran Government lacks strength, and is unable to assert its authority in

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the outlying provinces, difficulties are bound to arise from time to time. Trade routes are closed by banditti, British or Russian subjects are attacked and even killed, the securities which Persia has pledged for the service of foreign loans become imperilled, or the revolt of provincial leaders creates a general menace. Thus Great Britain was compelled to address a peremptory Note to the Persian Ministry last year about the condition of Southern Persia, which had brought about an almost complete interruption of trade. Russian troops, introduced to protect Russian subjects, have not yet been entirely withdrawn from Northern Persia. A British force was recently sent to Persian Baluchistan, where the local chieftains were assisting Afghan gun-runners, and had openly repudiated the authority of Teheran. Generally speaking, however, British policy, with which the Government of India is in complete accord, aims at leaving Persia to work out her own salvation. The process seems likely to be a slow one.

Indian relations with China open up another large set of questions which chiefly concern Tibet. Here, again, British policy aims at abstention, though again with qualifications. In the latter half of the 19th century Chinese suzerainty over Tibet became a mere shadow. The Government of India had direct relations with the Tibetan authorities, who committed various acts of aggression and obstruction, and were also found to be intriguing with Russia. A British expedition was sent to Lhasa, and it only had one permanent result of importance. It paved the way for the rehabilitation of Chinese suzerainty, which has never been denied by Great Britain. Under the Anglo-Russian Convention, both Powers agreed to abstain from further interference in the affairs of Tibet, and even undertook to prevent their respective subjects from seeking commercial concession in that country. They signed what was in effect a mutual self-denying ordinance. Great Britain, however, had hardly contemplated the substitution of Chinese for Tibetan rule. We had only anticipated a revival of Chinese suzerainty. The fight of the Dalai Lama, the arrival of Chinese troops in Lhasa, the merciless oppression of the Tibetan people, raise new issues which were unexpected and still await definite conclusion. At the same time, the decision that British interests in the north stop short at the Himalayas is fixed and irrevocable, unless unforeseen factors are revealed.

Of the other foreign questions of India, such as the better control of the wild tribes on the North East Frontier, the difficulties raised by the Arab revolt in Yemen, the more precise definition of British interests on the Southern Arabian coast and in the Hadramaut and a multitude of minor complications, nothing can be said. The general tendency of Asiatic politics is to draw India more and more from her seclusion. With the rapid development of oversea communications and the spread of railways, India's external affairs have ceased to possess any really local character. To every student of Imperial policy they have become as important as the politics of Europe, and it is imperative that they should be better understood.

PREVIOUS DURBARS IN INDIA.

SOME REMINISCENCES

The announcement that the King-Emperor proposes to visit India towards the end of the year, and that it is his Majesty's intention to hold a great Durbar on the plain outside Delhi, has aroused very general interest in the whole question of Indian Durbars. The Durbar is a very ancient Indian institution. The word is usually translated as meaning the Court of a King or Chief, but it also includes a levee or audience held or given by any person in high executive authority. It is further used, in some parts of India, to designate the Government of a native State; and in the Province of Kathiawar it is frequently customary to address a chief as "Durbar." Sir Thomas Roe, the British Ambassador to the Court of the Great Mogul, is quoted by Yule as defining the Durbar as "the place where the Mogul sits out daily to entertain strangers, to receive petitions and presents, to give commands, to see and to be seen." The Sikhs call the Golden Temple at Amritsar, the central shrine of their religion, "the Durbar Sahib." The feudatories of a chief are sometimes styled "Durbaris," and the word "Durbar" has even been attached to Courts of Justice and to police officers.

THE QUEEN'S PROCLAMATION

There can be no doubt, however, that it is chiefly associated with assemblages held by Royalty or the representatives of Royalty, and as the seat of government of the predecessors of the English, Delhi has long been regarded in India as the appropriate place for Imperial Durbars. When the control of India passed from the Company to the Crown in 1858, Lord Canning, the first Viceroy, was at Allahabad. The famous Proclamation of Queen Victoria, which has since been the text of innumerable speeches, was read by Lord Canning at that city on November 1. Sir Henry Cunningham, Lord Canning's biographer, states that it was read "with proper ceremonial splendour," but the gathering hardly seems to have been a Durbar in the accepted sense of the term. A platform was erected near the fort from which Lord Canning read the Proclamation in the presence of the troops and leading civil officials; but there were comparatively few Indians present. In the evening there was a banquet at the Fort. Sir William Howard Russell, who was present, described the ceremony as "cold and spiritless," and its real significance does not seem to have been generally appreciated.

KING EDWARD AT DELHI

When the late King Edward, as Prince of Wales, made his tour in India in 1875-76 he arrived in Delhi on January 11 and stayed there seven days. In view of the recent discussion as to whether the King-Emperor should make his State entry into Delhi riding on a horse or on an elephant, it is interesting to note that his father entered Delhi on horseback. The route followed was practically the same as that adopted by Lord Curzon in 1902. On leaving the railway station the Prince rode along Lothian Road, skirting the Fort, and passing before the Jumma Musjid, where a vast multitude had gathered. He traversed the famous Chandni Chauk,

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the principal thoroughfare of Delhi, and on emerging from the city rode over the Ridge to his camp beneath the Flagstaff Tower. The present King-Emperor's camp will be on very nearly the same site. The Prince wore a Field Marshal's uniform, and Sir H. Davies, Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, rode on his left, and Lord Napier of Magdala, Commander-in-Chief in India, on his right. He was escorted by a battery of Artillery, a squadron of the 10th Hussars, and a troop of the 4th Bengal Cavalry. The route was five miles long and was lined with troops throughout.

The Prince held no formal Durbar on his arrival, but was presented with an address of welcome from the Delhi Municipality, after which there was a levee. The next day there was a review, followed by a ball and a State supper in the Fort. On the 13th he visited the Kutab Minar and Humayun's Tomb, and in the evening the city was illuminated. On the two following days there were military manoeuvres. Sunday, the 16th, was observed as a day of rest, and on Monday there was a special field day for Cavalry. The Prince left for Lahore at midnight.

THE FIRST IMPERIAL ASSEMBLAGE

The first great Imperial Assemblage under British auspices at Delhi was held by Lord Lytton on January 1, 1877, to announce the assumption by her Majesty Queen Victoria of the title of Empress of India. Lord Lytton was a master of stage effect, and was fully conscious of the importance of a proper setting for so unprecedented a solemnity. Under his careful guidance the Assemblage was a brilliant success; but it is quite a mistake to suppose that he appraised its spectacular aspects at more than their due value. In a letter to Lord Beaconsfield written three months before the gathering, he said:—

I am afraid I may have seemed fussy or frivolous about the decorative details of the Delhi Assemblage. . . . The decorative details of an Indian pageant are like those parts of an animal which are no use to all for butcher's meat, and are even unfit for scientific dissection, but from which augurs draw the omens that move armies and influence princes.

The size of the Delhi gathering was deemed remarkable in those days, though it was destined to be greatly exceeded 26 years later. There were about 68,000 people at the Assemblage, which lasted 14 days. They included 77 Ruling Princes and Chiefs, and 300 prominent Indian noblemen and gentlemen. The troops present numbered over 15,000 British and Indian. A large proportion of the throng was made up, as at all these pageants, by the retinues of the Princes, who are accustomed on State occasions to be surrounded by great numbers of "followers." Lord Lytton arrived at Delhi on December 23, and was met at the station by the leading Princes and other notabilities. The Viceroy entered Delhi on an elephant, accompanied by Lady Lytton, and his two little daughters followed on another elephant; but the procession appears to have been limited in size. The route followed was practically the same as that adopted by the Prince of Wales earlier in the year, and the camp was pitched on the spot which has now become historic. The troops which lined the streets of Delhi were partly drawn from the Regular Forces of India, and partly from the armies of the Princes.

Sunday, the 24th, and Christmas Day were days of rest, but on the 26th and 28th the whole time was spent in receiving and returning visits from the Princes and Chiefs. That is a ceremony which the King-Emperor will at any rate in part be spared, since His Majesty will receive, but will presumably not endeavour to return, the visits of the semi-sovereign rulers. Lord Curzon was criticized in 1903 because he did not return the visits of the Princes, but it was, among other things, because he had the advantage of knowing how crushing the task was found by Lord Lytton, that he sought to waive the formality. Lord Lytton held levees on the nights of the 27th and 28th. On the 29th he received Indian noblemen and others not possessing ruling powers, and the Governors and Lieutenant-Governors. The 30th was spent in miscellaneous visits and receptions, and in administrative work, and on the 31st the inevitable visit was paid to the Kutab Minar, where the Viceroy picnicked amid the ruins.

LORD LYTTON'S DURBAR

The public Durbar was held on New Year's Day on the site on the open plain afterwards chosen by Lord Curzon, which has again been selected for the King-Emperor's Durbar. The arrangement of the Durbar was not free from mistakes, and has not been adopted on subsequent occasions. In the centre was a hexagonal dais, about 8ft. or 10 ft. high, painted light blue, and surmounted by a canopy which is described as cone-shaped, supported by silver pillars. The cone was surmounted by a representation of the Imperial crown, which rested on a gilded cushion, and the records declare that the crown looked too large for the cushion. The dais and other structures were designed by the late Mr. Lockwood Kipling, but he was not responsible for the cushion, or for the ropes with far too gaudy pennons which quite superfluously supported the pillars. Upon the dais was the Viceregal throne, shining with gold and silver. Facing the dais was a semi-circular amphitheatre, in which were seated the princes and the principal officials. Behind the dais were blocks of seats reserved for visitors and guests, who seems to have had a rather indifferent view of the proceedings. The whole Durbar was enveloped by troops.

The Proclamation was read by the Chief Herald, Major Barnes whose voice was heard by every one. Mr. Thornston, the Foreign Secretary, who followed with an Urdu translation, was not so audible. The flourish on the silver trumpets, which succeeded, was pronounced ineffective, and the salvos of artillery were not a success, because the guns were too small. The *feu de joie* fired by the troops was more impressive, though it stamped the elephants. Lord Lytton's speech could not be heard by many, but he had taken the precaution to have printed copies distributed beforehand. The speech was a disappointment, because it contained no announcement of any striking boon, as had been expected. Its principal feature was that it disclosed the creation of a new Order, the Order of the Indian Empire, in commemoration of the Assemblage. The reasons assigned for the institution of the Order are worth recalling because they have long been either forgotten or disregarded. It was principally meant to give an opportunity of "recognizing the claims of the British portion of the community," and was to be "specially open to the non-official classes." It was speedily absorb-

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ed, to a far greater extent than was ever intended, by officials, and for a good many years past hardly any non-official Englishmen have been appointed knights of the Order. After the Viceroy had resumed his seat, several princes spoke, but "owing to the noise and confusion were heard only by persons in their immediate neighbourhood."

SOME FORGOTTEN PROJECTS

It is well known that Lord Lytton wished to signalize the Assemblage by establishing an Indian Privy Council, restricted to the great princes, a proposal which was afterwards resurrected in Lord Minto's scheme for an Imperial Advisory Council. Lord Lytton also suggested the creation of a native peerage for India and the establishment of a Heralds' College at Calcutta, but all the projects were negatived by the home authorities. A number of the princes were designated "Councillors of the Empress," a distinction which remained meaningless, and they were presented with handsome banners, which were welcomed for their beauty, but not otherwise valued. Nearly 16,000 prisoners were released on Proclamation Day. Lord Lytton gave a State banquet in the evening. On January 2 he attended "the Imperial races," and on the 3rd there were games for the soldiers, and a display of fireworks witnessed by an enormous crowd. The 4th was devoted to receiving farewell visits from the princes. On the 5th there was a great review, and Lord Lytton lost his gold medal while "cantering home." The same evening Lord Lytton left Delhi, and the Imperial Assemblage was over. There can be no doubt now that the assumption of the Imperial title was a wise and salutary step, that the criticism levelled against it was wholly misdirected, that Lord Lytton's Durbar made a deep impression upon the people of India, and that the objects it was intended to serve were amply attained.

THE FIRST CORONATION DURBAR

Probably no gathering held in the East has ever exceeded in ordered magnificence the vast Coronation Assemblage at Delhi in 1903, arranged to proclaim the accession of King Edward VII. It marked the end of a great and picturesque era, rather than the beginning of a new period. India had changed greatly in the last ten years. In 1903 the motor-car was still an object of some curiosity and there were very few of them at Delhi. The princes brought with them swarms of retainers in medieval garb, and it was no uncommon experience to encounter a troop of warriors in chain armour, with casques and nodding plumes. The great array of elephants dominated the entire spectacle. The elephant was the symbol of the last Durbar, the taxi-cab seems likely to be the keynote of the next. It was felt and said at the time that there could never be another Durbar like that of 1902, because "the old order passeth." Medieval India still lingers in the more secluded native States, but the Maharajahs no longer delight to ride in golden howdahs on stately elephants.

The astonishing success, the blinding vividness of the pageantry at the last Assemblage, was due not only to the conditions under which it was held. It also owed much to the abounding energy and unceasing toil of Lord Curzon, who conceived and personally superintended many of the details, and visited Delhi four times to

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inspect the preparations. Yet, like Lord Lytton, Lord Curzon never failed to realize that the setting of the Durbar was not the main point and that the Assemblage implied far more than mere externals. In a subsequent speech to his Council he confessed that he never read the accounts of the splendours of the Durbar without a pang, for all the while he had been "thinking about something else." The Durbar to him "meant not a panorama or a procession; it was a landmark in the history of the people, and a chapter in the ritual of the State." The protest he then uttered against the idea that "the Durbar was intended only to show the magnificence of the Empire and the trappings of the East" deserves to be remembered now. The gathering to greet the King-Emperor at Delhi will have failed in its purpose if those who record it tell the rest of the Empire about the glory of the jewels of the Maharajahs and omit the message and the lesson which lie behind the resplendent display.

THE DURBAR CAMP

The 1903 Durbar was notable for the enormous area covered by the camps. The distances were vast, and many princes had to pitch their camps on the Kutab Minar, far to the south of Delhi. Fifty miles of special roads were made, as well as a "Durbar Light Railway," which was afterwards utilised elsewhere. The lighting and water arrangements involved prodigious labour. A special residence was built for the Viceroy, but it was afterwards made into a "Circuit House" for the Punjab Government. There was a great Exhibition of Indian Art, and a polo ground which attracted the best teams in India. About 40,000 troops assembled at Delhi gradually covering on the city after preliminary manoeuvres which lasted many days. The influx of visitors was great, rents of houses in Delhi rose to an incredible height, and the railways were almost unable to cope with the congested traffic. The difficulty of reaching Delhi at all at the last moment was exceeded by the far greater difficulty of getting away after the ceremonies. Of less important memories, perhaps that which remains most deeply imprinted in the minds of those present is the recollection of the intense cold at night. The English visitors seemed to feel the cold more than the Anglo-Indians. Life in tents in Northern India in the cold weather is a semi-Arctic experience to those unaccustomed to it.

On informal occasions many people dined in their overcoats, but the big marquees in which the State banquets were held were in some way miraculously warmed. Sometimes even the overcoats were not available, for there was a plague of white ants whose principal diet appeared to be clothing. Many tents were provided with fireplaces or heated by lamp stoves, but it is not easy to keep the cold out of a tent.

THE ELEPHANT PROCESSION

The incomparable feature of the 1903 Durbar, the feature that can never be reproduced again, was the State entry into Delhi. It was elephant procession that made it so unique. Lord Curzon chose, like Lord Lytton, to enter the Imperial city upon a gigantic elephant, and all the princes of India, similarly mounted, followed in his train. The King-Emperor has decided to enter on horseback, and the only princes who will attend him are his personal

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aides-de-camp. The decision cannot be questioned, but it will deprive the coming Durbar of a most impressive spectacle. Lord Curzon arrived at Delhi on December 29, 1902, and entered the city about noon. The procession was led by the 4th Dragoon Guards, the "H" Battery of Royal Horse Artillery, the Viceroy's Bodyguard, and the Imperial Cadet Corps, the last named all mounted on black chargers and wearing uniforms of white and the light Star of India blue. Then came the Viceroy and Lady Curzon, on an elephant bearing a howdah covered with silver inlaid with gold. The huge saddle-cloth or *jhool* was stiff with heavy gold embroidery. The elephant was surrounded by spearmen and by *chobdars* carrying maces and staves. The Duke and Duchess of Connaught, who represented the King-Emperor, followed on an elephant equally gorgeously caparisoned. Then came the retinue of Princes, whose share in the pageant was thus described at the time :—

'Princes bearing the greatest names in the Golden Book of India defiled before our dazzled vision. The whole road, right away to the walls of the Fort, was flashing with precious metals aflame in the sun-light. Not a howdah that was not covered with gold and silver. Not a *jhool* that was not decked in gleaming gold embroidery. Not an elephant that was not closely surrounded by gaudy spearmen, and driven by a *mahout* in rainbow colours. The very foreheads of the elephants were dabbed with bright pigments. And the Princes that they bore, who shall recount the splendour of their attire, the indescribable array of silks and satins and velvets, their glittering jewels, their ropes of pearls and necklaces of diamonds and rubies and emeralds, the splendid aigrettes in their turbans? It was a barbaric display, if you will, but it epitomized the wealth and magnificence of the immemorial East. On they came, till one almost fancied that the heavy tramp of the elephants shook the ground. The bells hanging from the howdahs clanged like cathedral chimes. Clouds of dust arose—water avails little on Delhi roads—and the uniforms of the patient troops grew soiled. But still the march went on, and the people cheered with wild enthusiasm.

There were over 200 elephants in the procession, including those ridden by the retainers of the Princes. The Grand Duke of Hesse, the Governors of Bombay and Madras, and a host of minor dignitaries drove in carriages, followed by the wild chieftains of the frontier on horse-back and a regiment of Indian Cavalry. Lord Kitchener had a prominent place in the cavalcade, riding alone, but he had only just arrived in India, and was hardly recognized by the crowd.

THE GREAT DAY

Though the State entry was the most unique example of Oriental display in 1903, there was general agreement that the Durbar itself was the finest scene of the whole Assemblage. It was said afterwards that "it contained more truly dramatic moments, it was conceived upon a vaster scale, than any other function." The amphitheatre in which it was held was a mighty structure shaped like a horseshoe, set in the midst of the bare and dusty plain. It contained tier after tier of seats and was estimated to hold ten thousand people, every one of whom had a good view of

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the proceedings. The Viceregal dais was right opposite the opening of the horseshoe and jutted out into the great arena, being covered by a separate canopy in white and gold. It bore the thrones of the Viceroy and the Duke of Connaught. The amphitheatre had a light roof, a necessary protection from the sun, though it threw the spectators into shadow and thus deprived the scene of some of its rich colouring. Before the arrival of the Viceroy and the Duke and Duchess the selected veterans of the Mutiny, British and Indian, numbering 240, marched into the arena. By common consent their advent to martial music, followed by "Auld Lang Syne," was the most moving sight of the whole fortnight, and the vast audience rose to their feet to do them honour, cheering as if moved by one spontaneous impulse.

After the Viceroy had taken his seat the massed bands sounded a summons to the Herald, and from the plain came the sound of silver trumpets. Then the Herald, Major Maxwell, appeared at the entrance to the arena, looking almost gigantic on his huge black charger. He was followed by 12 trumpeters, and when he turned before the dais and read the Proclamation announcing the Coronation of King Edward the Seventh his voice resounded through the amphitheatre. There was a flourish of trumpets, the great Royal Standard was unfurled, the guard of honour presented arms, the massed bands played the National Anthem, and the entire audience stood. The guns without fired a salute of 101 guns, and the 40,000 troops encircling the Durbar fired *feu de joie*. Lord Curzon's speech, which included the reading of a gracious message from the King-Emperor, could be distinctly heard by every one, but there was a feeling of disappointment that it contained no announcement of the "boon" which, in accordance with Oriental traditions, had been expected. The Herald and his trumpeters again entered the arena, this time at a quick trot, and silver trumpets once more sounded. Then the Herald, swiftly turning and facing the audience, raised himself in his stirrups, waved his helmet aloft and shouted in stentorian tones, "Three cheers for King-Emperor!" The effect was magical, and the cheers of the ten thousand spectators were echoed by the troops on the plain outside. The Durbar closed with the presentation of the Ruling Chiefs to the Viceroy and the Duke of Connaught, and with a spontaneous and quite unpremeditated ovation to the Duke and Duchess, after the Viceroy had departed first according to precedence.

OTHER CEREMONIES

The other principal ceremonies of the Assemblage were held on later days in the Delhi Fort, in the Diwan-i-Am, or Hall of Public Audience, and the Diwan-i-Khas, or Hall of Private Audience, magnificent structures built by the Moguls, which were temporarily doubled in size. On January 4 there was a grand Chapter of the two great Indian Orders in the Diwan-i-Am, when the new recipients of honours were duly invested. The ceremony was solemn and impressive, but far too long, and it is a relief to know that it will not be repeated, except on a very limited scale. The State Ball, on January 7, was a brilliant scene. There were about 5,000 guests, and it was amusing to note the intense interest displayed in the

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unwonted appearance of Lord Kitchener in the State lancers. He emerged from the ordeal with infinite credit. A remarkable feature of the Assemblage, second only to the State entry in its unique and picturesque character, was the review of Chiefs' retinues. It was the India of a century ago reproduced in living reality, and it came as a revelation even to those familiar with the country. That, again, was an amazing spectacle which is not to be repeated, owing to lack of time and the difficulty of organizing it. The last event of the Durbar was a grand military review, at which the popularity of the Gurkha regiments was very marked.

THE KING EMPEROR'S LAST VISIT

The King and Queen, when Prince and Princess of Wales, visited Delhi on December 12, 1905, and remained four days. They drove through the city by the regulation route, and halted at the Clock Tower to receive an address from the municipality. They were lodged in the Circuit House, built for the 1903 Durbar, including the great amphitheatre, the earthworks of which still remain. His Majesty is thus quite familiar with the scene of the coming Assemblage; but when next he visits Delhi it will be as the central figure of a gathering unprecedented in the long history of Asia.

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THE CITY OF SHAH JAHAN

The City of Delhi is so modern that it was only being built when Charles I. died at Whitehall; but the plain in which it stands is covered with the dust of dead empires. No one knows how often great capitals have arisen on the banks of the Jumna, in the heart of the richest and most fertile region of Hindostan. The first authentic record of a city in the neighbourhood of Delhi dates back to the 11th century, yet it is possible that far older sites lie buried beneath the soil. The early history of India is a sequence of blotted pages, and no systematic attempt has ever been made to trace the remains of the original ruling races.

No fewer than six cities are known to have been constructed south of the present Delhi, and as the visitor leaves the Ajmere Gate he wanders over ground where dynasty after dynasty has risen and fought and built and ruled and died. Each new ruling family wanted a new capital, and when the older cities were torn up, the shrines and tombs were sometimes reverently left. Thus it is that vestiges of the earlier Delhis are still visible in the stately sepulchres embowered in trees, which astonish and delight the wayfarer. Miles away, down a long and dusty road, stands the Kutab Minar, the most wondrous tower in the world, the abiding monument of the Moslem conquest of India. Beyond, and far too rarely seen by travellers, is the city of Tughlakabad, relic of a dream never destined to be fulfilled. Its Cyclopean masonry has withstood the ravages of time. Within its mighty walls one wanders through the ruined and deserted streets of a capital built but never occupied. Tughlakabad is one of the minor wonders of the world, yet few regard it now, though it is far more worth seeing than most places within a morning's drive of Delhi. At its gate stands, grim, four-square,

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more like a miniature fortress than a mausoleum, the tomb of its stern founder, Tughlak Shah.

THE RIDGE AND THE SIEGE

See, then, the older Delhi first, and ponder awhile upon the long pageant of history their remnants recall. The whole future of India has been decided again and again within a day's ride of their mouldering ruins. Thrice on the field of Panipat, north of Delhi, conflicts have been fought which are counted among the decisive battles of the world. Then turn next to the famous Ridge, beyond the northern walls, and see where the fate of British rule in India hung trembling in the balance for long weeks in 1857. It was no idle chance which led the heroes of the Mutiny to cling to those rocky heights, though they were often more besieged than besieging. They knew that Delhi spelt dominion, that the fall of Delhi would mean the eventual collapse of the revolt, that while the British flag flew on that bare slope victory was still within their grasp. The Ridge of Delhi is ground as hallowed as Waterloo, yet the first impression is always one of disappointment. It has bulked so large in history that it is something of a shock to discover it to be only 60 ft. high.

The plain to the south of Delhi for memorials of Mogul rule in India ; the plain to the north for relics of the historic episodes of British domination ; that is the simple division which may be made. Just beneath the Flagstaff Tower, on the site of the old cantonment sacked by the mutineers, stands the Circuit House where the King-Emperor will reside during his visit. The camp of the Court will be on the very spot where the British troops camped during the siege. The amphitheatre, a couple of miles away across the plain, is to be reconstructed at the exact point where Queen Victoria was proclaimed Empress of India, and where King Edward's Accession was announced. The northern walls of the city still bear the marks of the siege. The breaches can be traced ; the Kashmir Gate is scarred and battered ; the narrow lane where John Nicholson fell remains almost unaltered ; his modest tomb is in the cemetery near by. If Delhi is full of memories of the older rulers of India, it is sacred soil for the British also. Lake rode in triumph through its streets ; at its gates the destiny of the British in India was decided ; its walls echoed the salute proclaiming the assumption of the Imperial title by Queen Victoria ; it heard the guns announce the Accession of the first British Emperor of all India ; and in its precincts the princes of India will gather to render fealty to the first British Monarch who has ever gone in person to his Asiatic dominions. No city in the Empire has more poignant or more glorious associations for Englishmen.

THE FORT

The pride of Delhi, the structure which invests it with visible grandeur, is the vast Fort, whose rose-pick battlemented walls confront across a tree-clad pleasance the mighty Jumma Musjid, the Cathedral Mosque of India. The Fort was the Imperial Palace of Shan Jahan, and is a great enclosure containing gardens and several beautiful buildings. No Imperial residence in the world possesses a more majestic portal. The lofty gateway leads into an entrance

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hall like the nave of a cathedral. The courtyard beyond is as spacious as a London square. Though some of the structures within the Fort have long been used, somewhat carelessly, for military purposes, there yet remain gems of architecture which are almost unspoilt. The Diwan-i-Am, or Hall of Public Audience, is a magnificent arcade with red stone pillars and engrailed arches, where the Emperors showed themselves to their followers. In a high marble recess, whose sides are now robbed of their original incrustation of precious stones, stood the famous Peacock Throne, which Nadir Shah carried off to Persia when he left Delhi shattered and desolate. It may save much disputation to say at once that Lord Curzon, during his visit to Teheran, satisfied himself that the Peacock Throne no longer exists. The ultimate marvel of the Fort is the Dewan-i-Khas, or Hall of Private Audience, a pavilion with an open portico, surmounted at the corners by domes on slender pillars. It is a dream in white marble, a vision of arches and pillars adorned with gold and inlay work, of delicate pierced tracery, of cool shady retreats. The jewels have been torn from its walls, but the impression it conveys is abiding. It was meant for use, not in the chilly atmosphere of a Punjab cold weather, but in the fierce heat of May and June, when within earshot of plashing fountains the Emperor dallied with his women. Its essential beauty is unspoilt, and no one who has seen it marvels at the spirit of ecstasy in which its creator inscribed upon it the words : —“ If a Paradise be on the face of the earth, it is this, it is this, it is this !”

The Private and Public Halls of Audience will be so transformed and temporarily enlarged for the visit of the King-Emperor, that strangers will not see them in their natural state. Within them will be held more than one great gathering. One of the minor wonders of official achievement is that these halls can be made the nucleus of large temporary structures without an offence to taste, or the slightest injury to the fabrics ; but it was done with success in 1903, and will be done again. Everything in and around Delhi is a little abnormal and unreal when a great Imperial Assemblage is toward. The Chandni Chuck, the great thoroughfare of the city, swarms with animated crowds, and becomes towards evening radiant with vivid garments and headgear. The greatest marvel of Delhi at such a time is not the organized spectacles, but the wondrous variety of people within its gates. Yet the real modern tendency of Delhi, as in its early prime, is towards industrial development. Its ultimate destiny is to become the chief manufacturing centre of Northern India, but the smoke of its spinning and weaving mills can never entirely veil its romance.

CO-OPERATIVE CREDIT

A GREAT INDIAN MOVEMENT

By no means the least important movement set on foot in recent years in India is that which aims at financing agriculture on less enormous terms than has been the tradition of the past ; and no notice, however brief on Indian development, would be adequate which ignored the organization of co-operative credit societies. Every Hindu is at heart a money-lender ; and it is perhaps this

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circumstance which, while it has in the past rendered possible the toleration of the exorbitant rates of interest charged by money-lender in agricultural areas, accounts for the rapid development of the system of co-operative credit when once it was given an authoritative start. In order to understand the urgency of the need for some reform in the methods of financing agriculturists it is, however, necessary to give a short account of the condition of affairs at the close of the 19th century.

Before the advent of the British, land and its possession was of no great intrinsic value. There was little certainty that the ryot would reap what he sowed, or that when he had reaped it, he would enjoy the fruit of his labour. Added to this was the perennial uncertainty of the climate and the periodical recurrence of failures of the monsoon. Nevertheless, agriculture had to be carried on somehow in the interests of the whole society, non-agricultural as well as agricultural. The village community included the *sroff*, or *bania*, whose business it was to speculate in the organization of means for counteracting or minimizing the uncertainties and discouragements in the path of successful tillage. It was as much to his own interest as to that of the community at large that the money-lender of those days was frequently the saviour of society.

THE EVILS OF USURY

With the establishment of the *Pax Britannica*, and the growth of security of tenure, the value of land, as property, increased enormously. Concurrently, however, with the protection of property, the safety of the person was also guaranteed. In earlier times grave oppression or excessive exaction by the village banker brought their own swift retribution; but this check disappeared under our rule, which substituted a resort to the civil Courts. Such a remedy was of little or no value to the ignorant cultivator, while it was eminently suited to the intelligent and sometimes unscrupulous usurer. The process of dispossession of the ryot, through foreclosure of mortgages and so forth, proceeded in some parts of India at a dangerous pace, and forced upon the Government the adoption of measures such as the Deccan Agriculturists Relief Act of 1879, and later, the Punjab Tenancy Act, designed to check the transfer of ownership of land to the non-agriculturist classes in extinction of indebtedness. In a country like India, however, such measures could only have a partial success, and it was clear that some means were required for enabling the ryot to obtain credit both for tiding over bad seasons and for effecting improvements. Accordingly, in 1883 and 1884, the Land Improvement and Agriculturists Loans Acts were passed, under which the various local governments in India were empowered to advance money on easy terms for specific purposes. Considerable relief has been afforded by these measures, as is evidenced by the fact that, in the year 1908-09, a sum of £2,261,040 was advanced by the State to cultivators, while the total advances outstanding at the close of that year were £3,887,283. But it was felt that relief could not hope to be complete so long as Government were the agents, since the formalities and regulations which must be observed and adhered to regarding repayments of Government loans acted as a deterrent to many, and caused them to continue to prefer a resort to the local usurer.

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THE NEW SOCIETIES

Towards the close of the 19th century attention was drawn to the development in Europe of the system of credit societies as organized in Germany and Italy, and Mr. F. A. Nicholson, in his comprehensive report upon the possibility of establishing Land Banks in India, strongly recommended the adoption of measures based upon the system introduced in Germany by Raiffeisen. Other officers of Government in India took the matter up, notably Mr. Duperrex, and eventually, in 1904, the Corporation Credit Societies Act was passed by the Indian Legislature authorizing the formation of central societies (called "Co-operative Unions"), empowered to raise loans and accept deposits in the interests of affiliated, urban or rural, societies, of which the last named work without share capital and with unlimited liability. The movement inaugurated by this legislation, has met with an altogether unexpected degree of success. It is instructive to note that, when the Co-operative Credit Societies Bill was introduced into the Legislative Council in 1903, it was objected to by several Indian members on the ground, among others, that there was, in the Indian character, an absence of the spirit "of co-operation." The objections were overruled, Government passed the Bill into law, and within eight years are compelled to amend the Act so as to allow for its expansion. As was stated when the amending Bill was introduced, "It has been found that the root of the matter does exist in India and that Indians will co-operate." In fact, the collectivism which characterises Indian Society appears to lend itself with extraordinary readiness to the mutual self-help which is the basic principle upon which Raiffeisen in Germany, and Luzzatti in Italy, reckoned in establishing their co-operative credit societies.

THE SUCCESS ATTAINED

Let the figures speak for themselves. On March, 31, 1906 (after two years' working), there were in India, 283 societies with a membership of 28,629 and a capital of Rs. 4,73,219, of which Rs. 70,152 represented the Government's contribution. Two years later there were 1,357 societies with 148,429 members and a capital of Rs. 44,07,024, of which only Rs. 6,51,816 were contributed by the State; and the latest figure available give 3,456 as the number of the societies, 226,958 as the number of members, and Rs. 1,03,27,743 (of which only Rs. 7,21,775 are from Government) as the capital. The societies are thus increasing at a phenomenal speed, and they are firmly established on a self-supporting basis; while loans are well and punctually repaid. Now that the Government have floated the scheme it is being willingly and generously supported by leading Indian capitalists, and in several provinces Central Land Banks have been established in furtherance of the movement. Even under the original Act the measure was aimed not only at organizing the credit of agriculturists, but, in urban areas, in establishing similar societies for special industries such as the weavers and leather-workers. Under the amending Bill it is proposed to afford facilities for co-operation, not merely for borrowing, but also for purchasing and producing, and in the light of the marked success which has attended the first measure there seems no reason to doubt that, in its enlarged scope, it will also suit the constitution of Indian society and meet a long-felt want.

It is perhaps reasonable to hope that in the legislation of 1904 the Government of India have at last found means, consistent with the organization of the social system of India, for checking the transference of lands from the agricultural to the non-agricultural classes, and that an era of increased prosperity is in sight. Now that the first impetus has been given, private Indian gentlemen, especially in Bombay, are coming forward in support of the co-operative movement; and although, as yet, the registrars of the local societies are Government officials, there seems reason to hope that the time is not far distant when the scheme can be entirely divorced from official support and control.

THE INDIAN ADMINISTRATION

HOW IT HAS DEVELOPED

By Sir William Meyer, K.C.I.E.

I.—BEFORE 1832

In the middle of the 18th century, on the eve of the events which were to transform its mercantile outposts into vast territorial acquisitions, the East India Company had three principal settlements or "Presidencies," at Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay, each of which controlled dependent out factories and was administered by a President and a Council consisting of the principal local servants of the Company and varying from 12 to 16 in number. In Council the President was merely *primus inter pares*, and each Presidency was directly subordinate to the Court of Directors in London. The issue of the long conflict between the British and French in Southern India, the battle of Plassey and the events which followed it, and the further expansion associated chiefly with the Governor-Generalships of Cornwallis, Wellesley, and the Marquis of Hastings, constituted these Presidencies into great dominions. By the end of the period of which we are now treating, the Presidencies of Madras and Bombay had attained much to their present size, save for the subsequent addition of Sind to Bombay, while the Bengal Presidency included roughly the present provinces of Bengal, Eastern Bengal, and Assam and Agra, with Ajmere and some outlying territories in what are now the Central Provinces and Burma. The fact that the new Empire required control by a single Government in India, and in fundamental matters by the British Crown and Parliament, had been recognized by the series of Acts commencing with Lord North's Regulating Act of 1773, and including Pitt's Government of India Act of 1784, which gave the Bengal Presidency a Governor-General in Council, with powers of superintendence and control over the Governors in Council, as they were now styled, of Madras and Bombay.

The Governors-General and the Governors were now persons of high *status* appointed from England, and each was associated with a small Council of three or four members, including the local commanders-in-chief, while, after the disadvantages of a purely collective administration had been evidenced by the quarrels and intrigues which so disturbed the rule of Warren Hastings, the Governor-General and the Presidency Governors had obtained the right of over-ruling their Councils in matters of grave importance. Indian affairs had been placed under the control of the British

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Government of the day by the establishment of a Board of Control the President of which soon became *de facto* the entire Board and was to develop later on into the Secretary of State for India—to which the substance of the Company's power over the Indian Government was practically transferred. Each Presidency had its separate army, while in civil administration, too, the difficulties of communication, and the as yet isolated position of the three presidencies, still gave the Governments of Madras and Bombay a large degree of internal autonomy. The administration at first followed that of the native governments whom we superseded, and was only gradually altered, the chief advance being, at the outset, in the direction of settled order, safety of life and property, milder judicial punishments, and more certain and equitable taxation.

THE UNIT OF ADMINISTRATION

The main unit of administration was then, as now, the district, though the districts of those days were, as a rule, considerably larger than they are at present. Each district was in charge of a Collector (styled Deputy Commissioner in the new provinces acquired after the end of this period), whose primary function was the realization of the revenues. He was also, however, and still is, the chief magistrate of the district, and was responsible for police arrangements. Each Collector had assistants belonging to the Company's service who were either in subordinate charge of outlying portions of the district or worked directly under his orders. Apart from larger subdivisions under such an assistant, each district was, as now, split up into smaller areas generally designated *tahsils* or *taluks*, and in the immediate charge of native officers (*tahsildars*—in Bombay *mamlatdars*). Towards the end of this period, too, Lord William Bentinck inaugurated the appointment of native officers of a higher class, Deputy Collectors, who are now entrusted with the same duties and responsibilities as the Collector's European assistants. The Collector's principal subordinates, European and native, were like himself generally entrusted with magisterial and police functions also, their powers varying according to the revenue position they held.

At the base of all came, as ever in India, the village, with its own staff of petty officials and a large degree of autonomy which has perforce been subsequently curtailed by the advance of British administration. For the greater part of this period Collectors were directly responsible to the Presidency Governments, and in Madras and Bengal to the Boards of Revenue which these had established at headquarters; but in 1829 the important step was taken, in the Bengal Presidency, of establishing an intermediate authority—viz., Commissioners of Divisions, each of which contained several districts. The Commissioner supervised the work of his Collectors in revenue and police matters, and also for a time exercised judicial functions, but these last have long passed, save to some extent in Upper Burma, to District and Sessions Judges. The Commissioner system has been applied to all the large provinces that have grown out of the old Bengal Presidency, and in Bombay. It has never, however, obtained in Madras, where the Collector continues to be in direct subordination to the Board of Revenue in revenue matters and to the local Government otherwise.

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THE COURTS

The Supreme Courts of the Presidencies were of a double character. The Supreme Courts proper, established in Calcutta by the Regulating Act of 1773 and in Madras and Bombay subsequently, consisted of British barristers; but their jurisdiction was practically restricted territorially to the Presidency towns, and personally to European British subjects outside these.

Alongside of these Supreme Courts were Company's Chief Courts for civil and criminal matters, which served as courts of appeal in respect of the Company's interior or *mufassal* Courts. There was further a right of appeal to the King in Council (now the Judicial Committee of Privy Council) in important cases from all the supreme Courts. The system of appointing natives of India to be subordinate civil Judges had already been applied.

Except in Bombay, where a code of regulations forming a body of substantial criminal law had been drawn up by Mountstuart Elphinstone, no attempt had, however, been made to codify the criminal or civil law administered by the Company's Courts, which was generally based on the Mahomedan law in criminal matters, though with a dropping of the harsh punishments, such as mutilation and stoning, which that law permits, and on the personal law of the parties in respect of civil disputes. Occasionally, however, native custom, which was absolutely repugnant to Western ideas, was specifically overridden, as by Lord William Bentinck's legislation against the burning of widows in 1829. Such legislation as was required—and it was mainly confined to revenue and administrative matters—was carried out in the form of regulations by the Presidency Governments as such (the Indian statutes became known as Acts after 1833).

THE PUBLIC WORKS DEPARTMENT

The Public Works Department, as we now conceive of it, was non-existent. The roads were few and poorly maintained, while as regards irrigation little had been done beyond taking advantage of such works as had been constructed by previous native rulers. Mail runners were kept for Government purposes along main lines of communication, but the use of this post by private individuals was conceded only as a privilege. As regards State responsibility for famine relief and prevention, little advance had been made over native methods, which may be described as a policy of *laissez faire*, tempered only by occasional and generally unsuccessful attempts to start spasmodic relief works or to send food to famine areas. It may be noted, however, that the policy of granting what is known as *takavi* advances—that is, small loans to cultivators where circumstances seemed to require it—was recognized so early as 1793.

The Company had a medical service, whose officers, though maintained chiefly for military purposes, were also available at the larger civil stations. Hospitals had long been in existence in the Presidency towns, but their number in the *mufassal* was still small.

The educational efforts of the Government were still in the main confined to the establishment of a few colleges for Oriental learning, but missionary bodies in Calcutta and in the South of India had already done much in the direction of starting schools and colleges, and in Bombay, Mountstuart Elphinstone had initiated a sound vernacular system of education.

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The principal fiscal resources of the Government—apart from the trading operations of the Company, which disappeared after the close of this period—consisted of (1) the land revenue ; (2) receipts from opium, customs, including a vexatious system of internal pass duties since abolished, and salt ; (3) abkari or excise revenue ; and (4) stamp duties and fees on judicial proceedings.

THE LAND REVENUE SYSTEM

The land revenue was, as usual in Oriental countries, the mainstay of the Government. During the first years of British rule it had been exacted without any definite principle, except that of obtaining as much as it was thought the land could yield to the State by means of frequent and arbitrary reassessments and by farming the collection of these to the highest bidder, a method which had become generally prevalent under native rule with the decay of the Mogul Empire and the political anarchy that set in subsequently. But in 1793 Lord Cornwallis placed Bengal under a Permanent Settlement, which not only gave the great landlords with whom he dealt fixity of assessment, but precluded the Government from raising this for ever. The alternative system since adopted outside the permanent settlement area, of giving the landholder an assessment which should yield him a material portion of the profits of cultivation, and which should be fixed for a considerable period of years, but be liable to revision thereafter with reference to the circumstances then existing, was now in process of development. At the close of this period the ryotwari system of Madras had already been framed by Sir Thomas Munro, and in the Upper Provinces of Bengal (now the Provinces of Agra) steps were being taken towards the well-organized land revenue system which that Province owed subsequently to the labours of Bird and Thomason, and which resulted in the settlements of Upper India being made with large landowners of joint proprietors of villages, and not with peasant occupiers as in Madras, or in permanency as in Bengal. In Bombay matters were not yet definitely settled, but the ryotwari system of that Province may be said to have commenced from 1836.

The currency arrangements were as yet anything but uniform, and the rupees issued from the Company's mints were still of different standards and weights. In short, outside defence, law and order, and taxation, the Government was still mainly of an exceedingly *laissez faire* character ; very little had been done towards economic improvements and for the education and health of the people.

II.—FROM 1832 TO 1857

This period was one of large territorial expansion and internal development. At its commencement the Company's territories consisted mainly of large coast tracts with an extension inland up the Gangetic Valley ; its close marks the attainment, by the annexation of the Punjab, Nagpur, Oudh, Lower Burma, and some minor tracts, of the British India of to-day, less only Upper Burma and Baluchistan. The control of the Home Government over affairs in India, exercised through the Board of Control and the Court of Directors, had become fuller and closer. The Charter Act of 1833 had developed the Governor-General in Council of the Bengal Presidency into a Government of India, with much fuller powers over

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the subordinate Governments, the Madras and Bombay Presidencies losing the right of legislation and all financial independence. Following on this Act came the creation of a Lieutenant-Governor without a Council for the North-Western Provinces of the Bengal Presidency, now the Province of Agra. Lower Bengal was similarly placed under a Lieutenant-Governor in 1854, while the Punjab and Oudh were after annexation constituted into Provinces under Chief Commissioners. The Government of India had thus become a central authority dissociated from the administration of any large Province. The Charter Act of 1853 commenced the present discrimination between the Executive and the Legislative Councils of the Governor-General by adding to the former for legislative purposes an outside element, which, however, was still purely official, and the proceedings of the Legislative Council were from this time published and officially recorded. The same Act, it may be noted, threw open what is now known as the Indian Civil Service to competitive examination in England, thus replacing the old system of nomination by the Board of Directors. This period was one of constantly increasing administrative efficiency, combined with growing centralization. A uniform coinage had been introduced, and English had become the official language. Internal and economic development, chiefly associated with the Governor-Generalship of Lord Dalhousie (1848-1856), had led to the creation of new or improved departments for the management of post-offices, telegraphs, civil accounts, railways, other public works, education, and gaols. The first three of these were under the direct management of the Government of India, the last three mainly under the Provincial Governments, while the control of such railways as existed was divided between the Central and the Local Administrations.

In the older provinces tranquillity and improved communications were enabling a better developed administration. Districts were being gradually reduced to more manageable size, and the proceedings of the Collectors and Commissioners were necessarily becoming subject to greater check by the Provincial Governments, and those of the latter to larger control by the Government of India. The revenue and judicial systems were being improved, and native agency was being employed in increasing proportion. As regards land revenue, the methods of revenue settlement had been greatly improved, and were gradually becoming systematized, while towards the close of this period it was already becoming an axiom that the Government should not, as a rule, take more than half the net assets upon a fresh settlement.

The gradual increase in the number of hospitals and dispensaries involved the larger employment of native agency and the establishment of medical colleges and schools for its training. Lastly, old-standing municipal arrangements in the Presidency towns had been widened, and the first practical commencement of *mufassal* municipal administration had been made by an Act of 1850, chiefly utilized in the North-Western Provinces, which enabled the establishment of nominated Town Committees, who were permitted to levy local rates.

III.—FROM 1858 TO 1876

This period, though short in duration, is marked by large administrative change, due partly to the necessity for rebuilding and

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strengthening foundations which had been shaken by the Mutiny, and partly to the assumption of direct government by the Crown, which emphasized the responsibility of the Government of India for improved administration, while it enlarged the ultimate control of the Home Government and of Parliament. The first years of the period witnessed a series of important Acts of Parliament effecting Indian administration. This legislation, the most important portions of which are the Government of India Act of 1858, and the Indian Councils, Indian Civil Service, and Indian High Courts Acts of 1861, regulated the Government of India under the Crown and provided for its appointment of the Governor-General (henceforth commonly styled the Viceroy), the Governors of Madras and Bombay, and the members of their small Executive Councils. The portfolio system was introduced into these Councils so that member in charge of a particular Department can deal with minor matters relating thereto on behalf of the collective Government. Home control was provided by the Secretary of State for India assisted by a Council, to whom all important questions had to be referred from India. The Indian Legislature was placed on a new footing by adding to the Governor-General's Council for purposes of administration a considerable number of additional members, of whom not less than one-half were to be non-officials, thus providing for the participation of native Indians. Similar Legislative Councils, consisting also of high officials and nominated non-officials, were created for the provinces of Madras, Bombay, and Bengal, and became competent, subject to the control of the Government of India and the Secretary of State, to pass legislation of a local character. The old Supreme Crown and Company's Courts of Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay were amalgamated into High Courts, and a similar Court was established at Allahabad while Chief Courts, which are practically High Courts though on a somewhat lower footing, were later on established for the Punjab and for Lower Burma.

FURTHER CHANGES

This period further witnessed the creation of three new important provinces; the Central Provinces, Assam, and Lower Burma, each of which was placed under a Chief Commissioner, and the elevation of the Punjab into a Lieutenant-Governorship, while a larger measure of control was established over the Native States. Criminal and civil law and procedure, and the Courts to which their working was entrusted, were placed on a satisfactory and generally uniform footing, while there was a large amount of salutary codification as regards other branches of law, and in fiscal subjects such as those relating to stamps and Customs. The Presidency armies were reorganized and placed under the closer control of the Government of India, while the abolition of the Company's separate European forces brought British and Indian military arrangements into intimate connexion. The police and gaol services were organized on the lines on which they are still worked, and a Forest Department was created. The adoption of the policy of constructing railways and productive irrigation works from borrowed money led to a vigorous prosecution of these and the control of railways necessarily became more centralized. The machinery for executing public works was gradually improved

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by a special recruitment of civil engineers from England and by the development of engineering colleges in India. The Government of India took over the control of the paper currency and rendered the accounts and audit organization effective. Lord Mayo gave the Local Governments a salutary control over various services in which they were specially interested and assignments to meet the expenditure thereon; and concomitantly with this came the first important development of local self-government, giving opportunities for local interest in, and larger expenditure on, sanitation, education, and roads, by developing the municipal system, and providing for local rates, and the establishment of committees to apply these in rural areas.

IV.—FROM 1877 TO 1911

This period, which commences with the Proclamation of Queen Victoria as Empress of India, has been marked by great administrative improvement and the expansion of the economic activities of Government, by the creation of fresh provinces, by the development of the financial resources and responsibilities of the Local Governments, by a large increase of local self-government in municipalities and rural areas, by the greater association of natives of India in the administration, by Army reforms, and by a large extension of the character and powers of the Legislative Councils. Its varied activities are mainly associated with the Viceroyalties of Lord Ripon and Lord Curzon (1880-1884-1899 and 1905,) and with Lord Morley's tenure of office as Secretary of State for India. The following is a necessarily bald summary of the progress made in this period.

(1) New Provincial Arrangements—viz., the creation of two minor provinces, the North-West Frontier Province (detached from the Punjab) and Baluchistan; the unification of Oudh and the old North-Western Provinces as the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh; the detachment from Bengal of its eastern districts and their conjunction with Assam as the Lieutenant-Governorship; of Assam and Eastern Bengal; the annexation of Upper Burma and the conversion of the Province as thus enlarged into a Lieutenant-Governorship; the permanent leasing from the Nizam of Berar, held on a temporary tenure since 1853, and its conjunction with the Central Provinces.

(2) The formation of Legislative Councils in the United Provinces, the Punjab, Burma, and Eastern Bengal and Assam (the Central Province is now the only large Province without such a Council), and the development of the Central and Local Legislative Councils carried out by the Indian Councils Acts of 1892 and 1909. The Councils now include a large elective element chosen directly or indirectly (the elective element in the Central Legislature is largely supplied by election by the non-official members of the Provincial Councils) by municipalities, district boards, and special constituencies such as bodies of landholders, chambers of commerce, and Universities, while a special measure of representation has been given to the Mahomedan minority. Including nominated members, the non-official element now predominates in all the Legislative Councils, but that of the Governor-General, and the councils have the right not merely of

dealing with legislation, but of discussing the Imperial and Provincial budgets, and of submitting resolutions on matters of public policy, while individual members can address interpellations to the Government. The resolutions of a Legislative Council are, however, not binding unless accepted by the Central or Provincial Government as the case may be.

(3) The disappearance of the separate Presidency armies of Madras and Bombay, and the present organization of the unified Army of India, which owes so much to Lord Kitchener, into divisions and brigades.

(4) Successive reorganizations of the Governor-General's Executive Council which have given the administration of Army affairs, formerly in charge of a separate military member, to the Commander-in Chief in addition to his previous functions as executive head of the Forces, and have provided members to deal specially with (a) Commerce and Industry, and (b) Education and Local Self-government. The other portfolios entrusted to specific members of Council are now those of the Finance, Home, Revenue and Agricultural (including the Civil Public Works) and Legislative Departments. Two Indian gentlemen have successively been admitted to the Viceroy's Legislative Council as legal members, and the Councils of Madras and Bombay have each been reinforced by an Indian member. The Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal has been provided with a similar Executive Council of three members (two civilians and one Indian), and power has been taken to provide like councils when required in other Lieutenant-Governorships. Lastly, the Secretary of State's Council in London now includes a Hindu and a Mahomedan member.

(5) Increasing development in the construction of railways and productive irrigation works, and the complete control of railways by the Central Government; but, on the other hand, the devolution to a Railway Board, working under the Member for Commerce and Industry, of many administrative matters which formerly had to be considered by the Government.

(6) Successive stages of financial devolution which have provided the principal Local Governments with large permanent and growing sources of revenue, and have also given them wider discretion in the application of those resources.

(7) A policy which has extended the powers, functions, and resources of municipalities and rural local boards, and has given a large, and in many cases a predominant, elective element to these bodies. The district boards, corresponding roughly to our county councils, still work, however, for the most part under the presidency of the Collectors.

(8) The closure of the mints to free coinage of silver, and the consequent throwing of the responsibility for fresh coinage upon the Government of India.

(9) A considerable extension of native agency in the higher administrative and judicial appointments, a policy the further development of which is now under consideration.

(10) The carrying out of important reforms in regard to famine administration, provision for railways and irrigation works, which (though not financially remunerative) are valuable as protective against famine, education, medical and sanitary work, and police and excise administration.

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(11) The appointment of Imperial Inspectors-General, expert officers of the Government of India, who tour through the Provinces and advise the Central and Local Governments on subjects on which they have special knowledge, for important branches of the Civil administration which are controlled locally by the various Provincial Governments.

THE FUNCTIONS OF THE GOVERNMENT

The general functions of Government in India are, as has been aptly observed by the Decentralization Commission of 1907-9, in many respects much wider than in the United Kingdom. "The Government claims a share in the produce of the land; and save where (as in Bengal) it has commuted this into a fixed land tax, it exercises the right of periodical reassessment of the cash value of its share. In connexion with its revenue assessments, it has instituted a detailed cadastral survey and a record of rights in the land. Where its assessments are made upon large landholders, it intervenes to prevent their levying excessive rents from their tenants; and in the Central Provinces it even takes an active share in the original assessment of landlords' rents. In the Punjab and some other tracts it has restricted the alienation of land by agriculturists to non-agriculturists. It undertakes the management of landed estates when the proprietor is disqualified from attending to them by age, sex, or infirmity, or, occasionally, by pecuniary embarrassment. In times of famine it undertakes relief works and other remedial measures upon an extensive scale. It manages a vast forest property, and is a large manufacturer of salt and opium. It owns the bulk of the railways of the country, and directly manages a considerable portion of them; and it has constructed, and maintains, most of the important irrigation works. It owns and manages the postal and telegraph systems. It has the monopoly of note issue, and it alone can set the mints in motion. It acts, for the most part, as its own banker, and it occasionally makes temporary loans to Presidency Banks in times of financial stringency. With the co-operation of the Secretary of State it regulates the discharge of the balance of trade, as between India and the outside world through the action of the India Council's drawings. It lends money to municipalities, rural boards, and agriculturists, and occasionally to the owners of historic estates. . . . In India, moreover, the direct responsibility of Government in respect of police, education, medical and sanitary operations, and ordinary public works are of a much wider scope than in the United Kingdom. The Government has, further, very intimate relations with the numerous Native States which collectively cover more than one-third of the whole area of India, and comprise more than one-fifth of its population."

THE DIVISION OF CONTROL

In the discharge of their functions, the Indian Government are largely subject to the control of his Majesty's Government as exercised through the Secretary of State for India. Practically no fresh legislation can be undertaken without the Secretary of State's assent, which is also required to any new important departure in policy, whether financial or administrative, and specifically in regard to a number of matters principally connected with expenditure.

PRIMITIVE RACES OF INDIA

The authorities exercising the functions of Government in India may be divided into three grades :—(1) The Government of India ; (2) the Local Governments ; (3) statutory bodies such as district boards, municipalities, and Port Trusts, which have been created for the more efficient discharge of local duties. The Government of India retain in their own hands matters relating to foreign affairs, including relations with the principal Native States, defence, general taxation, currency, debt, tariffs, posts and telegraphs, railways, and accounts and audit, while other matters of ordinary internal administration fall mainly to the Provincial Governments. There are now eight principal or major Provinces :—Madras, Bombay, Bengal, Eastern Bengal and Assam, the United Provinces, the Punjab, Burma, and the Central Provinces, and five minor administrations of a less important and more dependent character :—The North-West Frontier Province, Baluchistan, Ajmere, Coorg, and the Andaman Islands. Coorg and Ajmer are, however, little more than districts, which are respectively administered by the Resident of Mysore, and the Agent to the Governor-General for the Native States of Rajputana, and the Andamans are primarily a penal settlement. None of the Provinces are, however, independent entities. Their Governments are subordinate agents of the Government of India, and it may be said generally that no local Government can take any important step without reference to Calcutta or Simla, while the Central Government also lays down the lines of general policy for the country as a whole.

The local bodies above referred to are entrusted with functions relating mainly to the development, within their jurisdiction, of ports, education, medical relief, sanitation, vaccination, roads and streets, the control of markets, and such like matters, and are provided for these purposes with separate local sources of revenue. The control exercised over them by Local Governments is roughly analogous to that which the Government of India imposes upon these latter.

PRIMITIVE RACES OF INDIA

THE TRIBES BEFORE THE ARYANS

Abundant evidence exists of the widespread distribution throughout the Indian Peninsula, and in Assam and Burma, of prehistoric man in the Palæolithic, Neolithic, and Iron Ages, and in the era of rude stone implements represented by the cromlechs, dolmens and *kistvaens* of the Deccan, the hat and umbrella stones of Malabar, and the *menhirs* of Assam. Even at the present day, echoes from these remote times keep up the traditions of a primeval usage. For example, among certain tribes of the frontier bordering on Assam and Burma, the use of stone implements still survives. The Khasis of the Assam hills, and various tribes and castes in the peninsula, erect memorial stones in honour of the dead, which recall to mind the upstanding monolithic *menhirs*. The Mala Arayans of Travancore still keep lamps burning in structures known as cairns of Parasurama, through whom the land of Malabar or Kerala was reclaimed from the sea. They also make miniature dolmens of small slabs of stone, within which they place a long pebble to

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represent the deceased. The same practice is said to prevail among certain jungle tribes of Orissa. The Irulas of the Nilgiri hills, on the occasion of a death among them, bring a long water-worn stone, and place it in one of the old dolmens, some of which are piled up to the capstone with such stones, which must have been the work of many generations. The Kurumbas, who inhabit the slopes of the Nilgiris, are said to come up annually to worship at a dolmen on the plateau, in which it is believed that one of their gods resides. The relation of the Kurumbas to the more civilised pastoral Kurumbas of the plains has long been the subject of speculation. In this connexion it is noteworthy that, in the open country near Kadur in Mysore, is a shrine of Bradevaru which consists of stone pillars surmounted by a capstone, within which the deity is represented by round stones. Within the Kuruba quarter of the town, the shrine of Anthargattamma is a dolmen beneath a margosa tree. Just outside the town, close to a sacred fig (*pīpal*) tree, are too small dolmen-like structures containing stones representing two Kurumba heroes who are buried there.

A RACE OF PYGMIES

Recent excavations of an extensive prehistoric or proto-historic burial-ground at Aditanallur, in the extreme south of the peninsula, have brought to light a splendid series of iron implements, bronzes, pottery utensils, and large burial urns of the type which is traditionally believed to have been made for the reception of the corpses of a race of pygmies. Many of these urns contain human bones and skulls, some of which are of very great interest, in as much as they exhibit conspicuous prognathism or projection of the lower jaw—a character which occasionally occurs in existing man in Southern India. In an urn opened some years ago in Travancore by Dr. Jagor were found a head of millet, and a skull with the teeth worn down like those of the present day races of Indians by eating grain.

THE OLDEST EXISTING RACES

It has been assumed by many writers on Indian ethnology in recent times that the oldest existing race in the peninsula is represented by the inhabitants of the Dravidian-speaking areas, who make up the bulk of the brown (not black) population of Southern India—the Deccan of some European writers—and occur with less frequency in the Central Provinces and Bengal, and even in Beluchistan (Brahui). The Topinard in describing the Hindu type divides the population of the peninsula into three strata—viz., black Mongolian, and Aryan, of which the first are seen in the Dravidian or Tamil tribes. According to tradition, “the warlike Asuras and Daithias (Danavas), who oppressed the proto-Aryan invaders of the Punjab, sent expedition to the Dekhan, where they found the semi-civilised States of Southern India, and imposed their speech and culture on the aborigines.” It is these aborigines, and not the later and more civilized Dravidians, who must be regarded as constituting the primitive existing race, for which the name Pre-Dravidian has been appropriately used by Lapicque, Haddon, and others, and as being the modern representatives of the Dasyus, or black-skinned noseless unholy savages. According to recent nomenclature, these Pre-Dravidians belong to the group of melanous dolichocephalic cymotrichi, or dark-skinned, narrow-headed people with wavy or

PRIMITIVE RACES OF INDIA

curly (not wooly) hair, who are further differentiated from many of the Dravidian classes, Tamil, Telugu, Canarese, &c., by shortness of stature and broad (platyrrhine) noses.

There are strong grounds for the belief that the Pre-Dravidians are ethnically related to the Veddas of Ceylon, the Toalas of the Celebes, the Batin of Sumatra, the Sakais of the Malay Peninsula, and possibly the Australians. Much literature has been devoted to the theory of the connexion between the "Dravidians" and the Australians, partly on the strength of certain characters which the Dravidian and Australian languages have in common, and the use by certain Dravidian castes (Kallan and Maravan) of a curved ivory or wooden throwing-stick called *valai tadi*, which is supposed to bear a resemblance to the Australian boomerang. Huxley even went so far as to say that an ordinary coolie, such as one can see among the sailor of any East India vessel in the London docks, would, if stripped, pass very well for an Australian, although the skull and lower jaw are generally less coarse. According to Wallace, the Indo-Malayan Archipelago, comprising the islands of Borneo, Java and Sumatra, was formerly connected by Malacca with the Asiatic continent, while the Austro-Malayan Archipelago, comprising Celebes, the Moluccas, &c., was directly connected with Australia. An important ethnographic fact is that the method of tree-climbing by means of bamboo pegs resorted to by the Dayaks of Borneo, as given by Wallace, might have been written on the Anaimalai hills of Southern India, and would apply equally well in every detail to the pre-Dravidian Kadirs, who inhabit that mountain range. Still further affinities between these people and the inhabitants of the Malay Archipelago are illustrated by the practice of chipping the incisor teeth, and the wearing by adult females of a bamboo hair-comb, the design on which bears a striking resemblance to that on the combs worn by some Malay tribes.

Of the pre-Dravidian tribes of Southern India—the microscopic remnant of a once more numerous race—the best examples are afforded by the Kadirs, the Paniyans of Malabar, formerly slaves of the soil, by whom most of the rice cultivation in the Wynad is carried out, the Yeruvas of Coorg, the Kurumbas of the Nilgiri hills, some of whom dwell in caves, and the Kurumbas of Mysore who work for the Forest Department. The Kurumbas are feared by the other tribes of the Nilgiris owing to their supposed magical powers, and whenever sickness, death, or misfortune of any kind visits the Badagas, some Kurumba is held to be responsible for it. The Badaga dread of the Kurumbas is said to be so great that a simple threat of vengeance has proved fatal.

RACIAL SURVIVALS IN NORTHERN INDIA

In Northern India the primitive tribes, as represented by the Mundas, Bhumij, and others, are said to be descendants of a very ancient element in the population, who appear to have once inhabited the valley of the Ganges in Western Bengal, and, after many wanderings, to have settled mainly in Chota Nagpur. The Bhils, who are found along the mountains of Central India, are, like the Kanikars and Chenchus of Southern India, skilled in the use of the bow and arrow. The menial Doms of Bengal officiate as executioners and assist in the disposal of the dead. The Santals

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trace the origin of the tribe to a wild goose who laid two eggs, from which the parents of the tribes sprang. Like the Mundas, Oraons, Bhumij, Hos, and other tribes, the Santals are broken up into a number of exogamous totemistic septs bearing "the name of an animal, a tree, a plant, or some material object, natural or artificial, which the members of that sept are prohibited from killing, eating, cutting, burning, carrying, using, &c." The Oraons, for example, have septs named after the mouse, tortoise, pig's entrails, and tigers, and the Bhumij totems include the betel palm, pumpkin, mushroom, and snake. Among the Santals each exogamous sept has a pass-word, so that members of the various septs are enabled to recognize each other when they meet.

CONTACT WITH CIVILIZATION

In writing about the jungle tribes of the Nilgiri and Anaimalai hills, M. Lericq states that there is no evidence of a race to be compared as regards purity to the Andamanese and other Negritos, and what one finds is a *population melisse*. The ethnological characteristics of the primitive tribes are at the present day rapidly undergoing modification as the result of contact-metamorphism from the opening up of the jungles for planters' estates, and association with more civilized races, brown and white, which has brought about not only a change in physical type, evidenced by increase of stature and decrease of the nasal index, but also a modification of religion, customs, and language. These tribes are by heredity animists, worshipping and seeking to conciliate "influences making for evil rather than for good, which reside in the primeval forest, in the crumbling hills, in the rushing river, in the spreading tree." Some, however, now worship Kali, visit the plains at times of Hindu festivals and pray to any image which they chance to come across, and smear themselves with religious marks in imitation of higher castes. The Bhumij of Western Bengal are said to have lost their original language, and to speak only Bengali, to worship Hindu gods, and even employ a low class of Brahmans as their family priests. The primitive method of making fire by friction with two pieces of wood or bamboo is fast disappearing before the use of lucifer matches, though for certain ceremonial purposes the latter are forbidden. For example, the aberrant Todas of the Nilgiris must make fire by friction with the wood of certain sacred trees within the precincts of the dairy temple, and at the cremation of males.

FIG-LEAVES AND HUMAN SACRIFICES

Some tribes—e.g., the Bhanda Pulayans and Koragas of Southern India, and the Juangs of Eastern Bengal—afford examples of what has been called the fig-leaf stage of society, the women wearing, in accordance with a legend connected with the tribal deity, a garment of leaves sewn or strung together. But leafy garments are disappearing in favour of long cloth. Take, for example, the Juangs. A political agent, some years ago, took the prevailing fashion in hand. "An open-air durbar, fitted out with a tent and a bonfire, was held in the Juang hills. One by one the women of the tribe filed into the tent, and were robed by a female attendant in Manchester cloth provided by the political agent. As they came out they cast their discarded garments into the

bonfire." In this way picturesque survivals disappear. Female infanticide was practised until the middle of the last century by the head-hunting Nagas of Assam, the Kondhs of Ganjam and Orissa, and the Todas, among whom males still preponderate greatly over females. The practice has been assigned to various reasons. The Naga is said to have killed his daughter lest a stronger man than he should desire her and, in effecting her capture, should take his head as an incidental trophy. The Kondhs maintained that the Sun God, in contemplating the deplorable results produced by the creation of feminine nature, charged men to bring up only as many females as they could restrain from producing evil to society. The human or Meriah sacrifice among the Kondhs, as an offering to the Earth God with a view to securing an abundant harvest, has been abolished within the memory of men still living, and replaced by the slaughter of a buffalo or a sheep. In one form of the substituted ceremony, the sacrificial sheep is shaved so as to represent a human being. A Hindu sect mark is painted on its forehead, a turban stuck on its head, and a new cloth placed around its body. Belief in the efficacy of human sacrifice dies hard, and, as recently as 1907, a petition was presented to the District Magistrate of Ganjam requesting him to sanction the performance of the rite. Twenty-five descendants of persons who were reserved for sacrifice, but were rescued by Government officers, returned themselves as Meriah at the Census in 1901.

TRIBES WHICH ONCE RULED

There is strong reason to believe that some of the primitive tribes already referred to, as well as the servile classes, once held a high position—and were, indeed, masters of the land. Many curious vestiges of their ancient power still survive in the shade of certain privileges, which are jealously cherished, and, their origin being forgotten, are much misunderstood. These privileges are remarkable instances of survivals from an extinct stage of society—shadows of long-departed supremacy, bearing witness to a period when the present haughty high-caste races were suppliants before the ancestors of degraded classes, whose touch (or approach within a certain distance) is now regarded as pollution. The Bhils of the North-Western Provinces have a tradition that they were once rulers in Rohilkund, whence they were expelled by the Rajputs. As a proof that they were originally lords of the land, it has been pointed out that, when a Rajput chief is installed, it is a Bhil who puts the sign of kingship on his forehead. Further, some Bhils are priests at one of the most ancient temples in Omkar. The Raj Gonds are so-called because they are believed to have furnished families which have attained to royal power. Another division of the Gonds, claiming to be Kshatriyas (the ruling or military caste of Manu), wear the sacred thread, and are said to make great efforts to get their claim recognized by contracting marriages with needy Rajput brides. The jungle Kurumbas play an important part at the seed-sowing ceremony of the agricultural Badagas of the Nilgiris. The priest pours some grain into the cloth of a Kurumba, and, yoking the bullocks to the plough, makes three furrows in the soil. The Kurumba, removing his turban, places it on the ground. He then kneels between the furrows, and

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scatters the grain on the soil. At another ceremony the procession is headed by a Kurumba, who scatters pieces of the sacred *tud* bark and wood as he goes on his way. He brings a few sheaves of grain to the temple and ties them to a stone set up at the main entrance thereto, before the god is worshipped by the assembled Badagas.

THE QUESTION OF POLLUTION

At times of census, many of the "depressed classes" return themselves as Chandala—a generic term meaning one who pollutes. It was laid down by Manu that the abode of the Chandalas must be out of the town. They must not have the use of entire vessels. Their sole wealth must be dogs and asses. Their clothes must be the mantles of the deceased; their dishes for food broken pots; their ornaments rusty iron. It was recorded by Sonnerat in the eighteenth century that "if a pariah in Malabar approaches too near a Nair and, through inadvertence, touches him, the Nair has a right to murder him, which is looked on as a very innocent action. It is true that the pariahs have one day in the year when all the Nairs they can touch become their slaves, but the Nairs take such precautions to keep out of the way that an accident of that kind seldom happens."

INDIA AND INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT

PROBLEMS AWAITING SOLUTION

The future of India is inseparably bound up with industrial development. Whether British rule endures in its present form, or is ultimately modified, the country will require a systematic development of its resources and the organization of a trained industrial population if it is to work out its own salvation. It has to create fresh wealth rather than to hoard what it already possesses and it cannot hope to preserve its existence upon a solid basis by agriculture and the export of raw materials alone. People are constantly explaining the needs of India, but they do not always stop to think where the money is to come from to satisfy those needs. For instance, India requires better military and naval protection. A country with an enormous land frontier and a coastline of abnormal extent in proportion to its area will not for ever maintain its integrity with an army of 235,000 men and a few small ships. That expenditure on defence in India is destined to increase rather than to decrease must be pronounced inevitable.

Again, the system of education requires vast development if India is to gain her rightful place in the world, and for that purpose also much money will be required. The system of administration is bound to grow more complex if progress is to be attained. The dream of primitive simplicity in governance is utterly at variance with the needs of great modern States, and the craving for national advancement will entail more officials instead of fewer. Wealth is needed to create wealth. Every successful Indian industry breeds other industries. The money made in the cotton mills of Bombay to-day is used to smelt iron and make steel in the Central Provinces to-morrow. In this great issue the interests of

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Indians and English are identical, though for different reasons. The British are concerned, because the increasing prosperity of India, and the creation of capital which is wisely employed and not hidden, may reasonably be supposed to strengthen the stability of their rule. The Indians are concerned, because they derive the most direct benefit from the growth of prosperity. Even the most ardent Nationalist has a direct interest in the industrial development of India. He dreams of the day when his country will stand alone without external aid, and though most of the Nationalists are unpractical dreamers with no conception of economics, they must surely see that to stand alone India requires power, and in her case power cannot be gained without wealth. Three hundred millions of people, whose country lies on the main highway of the world, can never hold their own by the methods which have served a handful of Montenegrins in a wilderness of mountains. Thus, whatever turn events may take, the industrial development of India becomes everybody's business.

THE STAGE OF TRANSITION

The clue to the present condition of India probably lies not so much in possible antagonism to British domination, or in the wave of reviving aspiration which has swept through Asia, but rather in the fact that India, perhaps more than any other Asiatic country, is in the throes of a great transition. In no respect is the effect of the transition more marked than in questions affecting industrial development. For centuries the basis of the life of the country was the village, which, as Mr. Yusuf Ali has said, was "a self-contained, economic community." Invaders swept through the peninsula, princes warred with one another, emperors marched their armies far and wide, but the village people followed their immemorial ways. There was a great deal of manufacture, but no organization of industry in the modern sense. Gold was worked, but most of the minerals of the country lay untouched. Foodstuffs were chiefly consumed where they were produced, and in the absence of railways little attempt was made to distribute food products throughout the country, while practically none were exported. Such enterprises as the vast jute industry were still undreamed of.

THE FACTORY SYSTEM

The impact of the West has changed the old conception which made the village the only real basis of the Indian communities. Certain industries are being organized in the Western manner. The mill chimney is no longer an unfamiliar feature of the Indian landscape. One may stand on the railway bridge at Byculla, Bombay, and gaze upon an array of busy mills which to Lancashire should be a portent full of warning. In the great cities of the United Provinces and the Punjab, and on the banks of the Hughly, the adoption of the factory system is creating many new industrial centres. The vast red-brick mill, with its whirling machinery, may not always be the best symbol of progress, but it is an index of wealth. No one who has studied the question wants to see the small individual worker who toils in his own home crushed by the competition of great enterprises backed by large capital. There are two million handlooms in India, and the Government wisely

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desire to shield and encourage those who work them. Room will always exist for the hand-loom workers and kindred artisans in the midst of so huge a population. But India needs more wealth, and wealth in the volume required can best be produced by the organization of industry.

Some experts argue that the factory system upon Western lines is perhaps not best suited for the Indian artisan. The climate is not favourable, the waste is often great, the business methods are frequently defective. The objection need not be discussed, because it is hardly pertinent to the main issue. It would be easy to show examples of great mills which prove that healthy conditions, successful management, and substantial profits are by no means difficult of attainment in India. Experience seems to suggest that large mills are best, but it may be that a network of smaller factories will be more in keeping with Indian conditions. The real point is that organization is imperative, and that the industrial regeneration of India, the creation of those larger material resources which will enable India to stand as an Empire upon a firmer basis, will never be effected by the encouragement of individual workers alone.

THE DIFFICULTIES

When the problem is approached more nearly, it is soon discovered that the transitional stage through which India is passing is the dominant factor. There are innumerable artisans in India but the majority of them are still tied to the village, the economic unit to which they belong. So far there is no large permanent class dwelling in the towns and cities all their lives, accustomed by tradition to work, not in their own homes or shops, but in a mill or factory with thousands of others. They flock to the towns seeking work, they even obtain a certain degree of skill in a particular task, but in their own minds they remain birds of passage. The city is not their permanent home, and they do not desire to dwell there for ever. To all these broad generalizations there are necessarily large exceptions, but it may be stated roughly that the average worker in a mill or a mine does not wish to make himself a home near the scene of his transitory labours. Circumstances often compel him to spend his whole life there, but he does so with reluctance. The village, the home of his ancestors, calls him, and he retreats there periodically, when he has saved a little money, as well as when he is ill or too old to work. Meanwhile he is content to live in the city under conditions which are rarely comfortable and often miserably squalid. Frequently he has no choice, for the housing of the working classes has received little systematic attention in India. A few employers of labour have wisely furnished good dwellings for their workpeople, but more often the mill is surrounded by an agglomeration of wretched hovels. The creation of a larger class of permanent town-dwelling artisans, regarding the factories as their natural source of employment, is therefore a condition essential to better industrial development.

But the obstacle presented by the comparative lack of urban operatives is only one of many. When that is overcome, there is encountered the difficulty of caste restrictions. The intricacies of caste are manifold, but one of the consequences of the system is that it unquestionably operates among large classes of men in a way

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which prevents them from entering upon new callings. The alacrity with which young Americans will rapidly pass from one occupation to another has very little counterpart in India. A man wishes to follow the trade which his father followed and his caste enjoins; and he wishes to follow it in accordance with traditional usage. Were it not that many sections of the community are only lightly bound by caste, and that caste prohibitions are generally weakening, the organization of industrial labour would be far more seriously hindered than it is. Then, as has been pointed out by Sir Alexander McRobert, who has had great experience in Indian labour questions, the family system in India presents a complication not met with elsewhere. A man will recklessly throw himself out of employment, because he knows that, in obedience to custom, his family will support him.

THE INDIAN WORKMAN

A further source of trouble is the common indifference of men for their work. Probably the laziness and inefficiency of Indian workmen has been exaggerated. The peasant is not normally lazy, but is usually a slow, patient, steady toiler. The men who works at trades in their own homes generally labour for long hours. In factories the same classes of men require constantly keeping up to their task, and will slacken instantly if vigilance is relaxed. Sir Alexander McRobert says that the factory hand is rarely proud of doing his work well, and that "his object first and foremost is to get to pay day by the easiest possible route." There can be no doubt that the average Indian does not possess the faculty of continuous industry to the same extent as the average Chinese. The cause is perhaps partly climatic. For the true explanation of the slackness of factory hands we must also peer a little deeper. The factory system is foreign to Indian ideas and traditions, and the operatives have not yet fully adjusted their mental outlook to its special requirements. The spirit in which they enter upon it is part of the same feeling which leads them to make shift with wretched quarters while they are working in the mills. Indian labour is often inefficient, not from lack of capacity or inherent laziness, but because the workers do not regard work in the mills as their real and permanent calling in life. To this initial difficulty must be added lack of suitable training, the frequent absence of thoughtful encouragement, and above all, the absence of education. Innumerable calculations have been made concerning the relative efficiency of Indian and European workmen. They are all a little beside the mark, because they do not take sufficiently into account relative training and environment and heredity. Under present conditions the European workman is usually incomparably superior to the Indian; but a competent and sympathetic European overseer, who knows how to handle his men, will sometimes get results from skilled Indian workmen which are astonishing. Time will certainly produce a great change for the better.

THE SCARCITY OF LABOUR

One constant drawback to the development of Indian industries is the scarcity of labour. Indian employers are wont to smile bitterly when they hear talk of the "inexhaustible supplies of cheap labour." One well-known employer remarked at a recent discus-

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sion on the subject that he did not think the supply was inexhaustible, and he knew it was not cheap. Certain it is that in every industry in the country the lack of competent hands is loudly deplored. The real cause unquestionably lies in the state of transition to which so many of India's difficulties must be ascribed. A country which possesses over three hundred million inhabitants, and employs less than a million of these in factories, subject to inspection, cannot be in contact with an insoluble difficulty. The potential supply is probably inexhaustible in comparison with India's prospective requirements for many decades to come, but factory labour is not yet very popular, the conditions are not sufficiently attractive, and the channels of recruitment are not probably organized. Half the trouble is due to the expectancy of incomparable cheapness. Very cheap labour is not really cheap, in proportion to its results, and the rising tendency of Indian wages, so frequently complained of by employers, will possibly in the end bring them the salvation they desire.

WHAT IS BEING DONE

Considering the obstacles which have to be overcome, the industrial development of India has been very rapid in recent years. The two leading manufacturing industries are cotton and jute. In 1883-84 there were 74 cotton mills, with over $1\frac{3}{4}$ million spindles, representing a capital of $5\frac{1}{2}$ millions sterling. In 1908-09 there were 232 cotton mills, with nearly six million spindles, representing a capital of over $13\frac{1}{2}$ millions sterling. There were 23 jute mills in 1883-84, with 112,000 spindles, representing a capital of less than $2\frac{1}{4}$ millions sterling. By 1908-09 the jute mills numbered 52, with 607,000 spindles, representing a capital of over $7\frac{1}{4}$ millions sterling. The woollen trade does not show corresponding progress, and cheap pulp-wood paper from other countries checks the expansion of the paper industry. The State is responsible for a considerable share of industrial development, not only in its printing presses and engineering workshops, but still more in its military arsenals and factories. The aim of the Government of India is to make the country ultimately supply its own needs, not only in railway plant, but in war material and for other Government purposes, so far as is possible. The exploitation of mineral resources proceeds apace. In 21 years the production of coal has increased from $1\frac{1}{2}$ to $1\frac{3}{4}$ million tons annually. In the year 1908 alone the number of persons employed in mines increased by 8 per cent., though the miners are very unskilful and their standard of efficiency is low. It is interesting to note that in some districts a new "mining caste" is at last being evolved.

Despite the vicissitudes of the cotton industry, which are partly due to defective management, it continues to expand. Formerly Indian mills confined their work mainly to spinning yarn, but now they are weaving cloths of a quality which was thought impossible even ten years ago. The great scheme for providing hydro-electric power, by collecting the rainfall on the Western Ghats, is expected to give a considerable impetus to the mill industry in Bombay. A huge iron and steel industry, developed by Messrs. Tata, is about to be inaugurated at Sakchi in the Central Provinces. Innumerable minor indications of industrial progress are visible, and the most

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notable change in recent years is the degree to which Indian capital is being invested in these enterprises.

TECHNICAL EDUCATION

A cardinal principle in the development of Indian industries must be the creation of a far more efficient and widespread system of technical education. It is needed in two chief directions. One is the training of men with higher qualifications, capable of becoming managers, overseers, foremen, and engineers, or of starting industries on their own account. Such admirable institutions as the Victoria Jubilee Technical Institute in Bombay, the Sibpur College near Calcutta, and the Engineering Colleges at Poona and Rurki need multiplying all over the country. They find their complement in the Imperial Institute of Science at Bangalore, a magnificent project which owes its existence to the generosity of the late Mr. Jamsetjee Tata. The second necessity still remains to be met, for up to the present there has been no attempt at a general diffusion of opportunities for technical training of a kind suitable for boys and girls who do not aspire to be more than working artisans. Mr. Harcourt Butler, the new Minister of Education, is understood to be investigating the subject; but it has to be remembered that even in England facilities for the training of artisans and craftsmen are not yet very numerous or well organized. The need for such elementary training is, however, greater in India than in this country.

LABOUR LEGISLATION

The Government are not unmindful of the duty they owe to the new class of urban workers. The Act passed this year not only prevents the undue use of child labour, but it limits even adult males in factories to a 12 hours' working day. These restrictions have been introduced in the face of strong opposition from a section of the employers, though others have warmly supported the changes made. The opponents of the legislation were short-sighted, because it is to their own best interests to make factory work popular. Many employers in India have still to learn that the solution of their troubles lies largely in their own hands. They care too little for the welfare of their workpeople and fail to realize the vast character of the experiments on which India is entering. It is nothing less than an attempt to change the ingrained character and traditions and environment of a considerable section of the population. It can only succeed on a large scale if the workers are attracted by good pay and comfortable conditions of living. Employers have a direct interest in seeing that their workpeople are well housed, though few have recognized their responsibility.

AGRICULTURE

The principal industry of India is and must always be agriculture, and no consideration of Indian industrial development can omit some reference to a topic which really requires separate treatment. At the 1901 Census nearly two-thirds of the population returned some form of agriculture as their principal means of subsistence. Nearly 20 years ago Dr. Voelcker, in a report which has become a classic, declared that it was impossible to generalize about Indian agriculture. In some districts, such as Gujerat,

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there was little to recommend by way of improvement, whereas elsewhere much might be done. He contested the popular belief that Indian agriculture is, on the whole, primitive and backward, and thought that considering the conditions it was wonderfully good. Many of his suggestions have since been carried into effect. The foundations of a system of agricultural education have been laid, and an organized system of agricultural inquiry has been established. The Provincial Agricultural Departments are doing excellent work, there are numerous experimental farms, an Inspector-General of Agriculture was appointed some years ago, and during his Viceroyalty Lord Curzon established at Pusa a higher teaching institution known as the Agricultural Research Institute. A number of scientific experts have been attached to the Imperial Department of Agriculture, and more appointments are believed to be in contemplation. Government expenditure on agriculture has increased enormously in recent years, and Mr. H. S. Lawrence calculated in 1908 that it had grown from £10,000 to £200,000; but he added that the United States, which spends £2,300,000 annually on its Department of Agriculture, would regard this sum as a very humble beginning.

A general survey of the position of Indian agriculture leads to the impression that it is capable of more improvement than Dr. Voelcker was inclined to admit. In every country the application of modern scientific principles to agriculture has been attended with benefit, and there is no reason to suppose that Indian agriculture can remain stationary. In Australia, as well as in the United States, enormous advances have been made in agriculture in recent years. While it is easy, however, to effect improvements when dealing with a population of 4,000,000, the problem becomes vastly different if 200,000,000 people directly dependent on the soil have to be handled. From the economic point of view, the improvement of the staple of Indian cotton is perhaps more important than any other agricultural issue. The Bombay Government have done much to demonstrate the possibility of growing longer stapled cottons, but they need the support of the cotton trade, which is not forthcoming as it should be.

WHAT REMAINS TO DO

Many people hold that for the effective development of indigenous manufactures, a protective tariff is necessary in India, and that the Government of India should at any rate have liberty to decide their own fiscal arrangements. Into that contentious question there is no need to enter, but it may be observed, in a purely impartial spirit, that tariffs alone will not expand the industries of India. The Bombay millowners complain of the excise duties on cotton goods, which operate unfairly in favour of Lancashire. Their representations would be far more convincing were it not that they themselves handicap their industry by unwise methods of control and finance, which must militate against prosperity far more than the excise duties. Reform in mill organization has been talked of for 20 years, but seems no nearer. Again, whatever may be the possible advantages of fiscal autonomy, a more pressing need for India is the unlocking of the vast stores of hoarded capital which ought to be put to reproductive uses. The process has begun, and much additional rupee capital has been

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invested in industrial enterprises in the last decade, but a flood of fresh capital, both Indian and English, is needed to assist the industrial development of India. The opportunities are boundless. The rise of the jute industry reads like a romance, and it may have many parallels yet. Twenty years ago hardly any manganese ore was produced in India, but in 1907 the output was over 900,000 tons, though the trade has recently suffered some diminution. No attempt has yet been made to manufacture ferro-manganese. The ore is still exported raw, though India buys large quantities of imported steel. Sir Thomas Holland has declared that "the manufacture of sulphuric acid on a large scale and cheaply would be the starting-point of an economic revival." Sulphuric acid, he says, is "the key to most chemical and to many metallurgical industries." India pays 20 millions sterling annually for products obtained in Europe from minerals identical with those lying idle in her own soil. But India must be content to be beaten by the producers of cheap chemicals in Europe, "until industries arise demanding a sufficient number of chemical products to complete an economic cycle, for chemical and metallurgical industries are essentially gregarious in their habits." Many examples of the same kind might be quoted. India exports vast quantities of hides and skins which she ought to be manufacturing into leather, and buys millions of pounds worth of sugar which she ought to grow herself. She imports enormous consignments of cotton cloth which might be made within her borders if the staple of her cotton was systematically improved. Great though Indian industrial progress has been, there can be no doubt that, given a continuance of peace and security, remarkable developments will be witnessed in the next decade or two. The foundations of India's industrial prosperity have been solidly laid, her markets lie at her door, and her productive capacity is capable of infinite expansion.

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FOREST OFFICERS AND THEIR WORK

Since the formation of the Indian Forest Department in 1864, a system of forest conservation has gradually been built up which has not only achieved remarkable financial results, but has also been of immense direct and indirect advantage to agriculture. The forest policy decided upon in 1894 was that "the sole object with which State forests are administered is the public benefit"; but the realization of a good and steadily increasing revenue is always being kept well in view. The financial success obtained was alluded to in the Indian Budget speech in 1906, when Lord Morley said, concerning the forest administration:—"I cannot wonder that those who are concerned in these operations look forward with nothing short of exultation to the day when this country will realize what a splendid asset is now being built up in India in connexion with these forests."

The total annual outturn of forest produce amounts to about 250,000,000 cubic feet of timber and fuel, and 200,000,000 bamboos, with minor produce to the value of about £480,000, while the actual net income has of recent years exceeded £800,000,

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although the expenditure on working, maintenance, and improvement always exceeds one-half of the gross revenue. Besides that, a great deal of produce is granted free or at reduced rates to persons living in the vicinity of the forests. The extent to which the forests directly or indirectly provide the means of livelihood for the rural population cannot even roughly be estimated. Details for the Census of 1911 are not yet out, except that the population in British India now totals 315 millions. In 1901, when the population was 294 millions, the number of persons dependent for their livelihood on "wood, cane, leaves &c.," was shown as 3,790,492, while other 1,886,156 were dependent on shifting cultivation in the forests; yet these 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ millions represent nothing like the actual number entirely or partially dependent for their means of livelihood on the forests, on forest work or on industries for which the woodlands furnish the raw material.

NOMADIC CULTIVATION

The indirect utility of the Indian forests is, however, far more valuable to the State than the more financial profit. The grazing annually afforded to countless herds is of special value in years of draught in saving from starvation the cattle upon which the agriculture depends. In times of deficient rainfall and scarcity of food the State forests are opened for the free collection of grass and fuel and for the gathering of edible roots and fruits; and the poorer classes in districts thus affected then resort in large numbers to the forests to eke out a scanty subsistence, while the agricultural classes are granted permission to graze their cattle free of cost in many of the Government forests. These concessions are now highly appreciated in dry tracts such as the Central and the United Provinces, though at the time of the formation and settlement of reserved forests the rural population usually failed to see the advantage of having their customary rights of user defined, regulated, and often diminished or even extinguished by purchase or otherwise, and almost invariably considered these innovations to be an uncalled-for attack on their past habits and customs. This feeling of being harassed was, and still is, particularly strong with regard to the wasteful custom of shifting cultivation common in all the wooded tracts of India. This consists in felling all trees and bamboos (except some of the largest trees, if such can be killed by girdling) during January and February, and then burning them in March or April. No attempt being made to control the fires, hundreds of square miles of forest would be passed through by scorching fires in the course of every hot season. In the fertile virgin soil with rich top-dressing thus given by the ash of the burned trees and bamboos rice crops were sown or planted for one year, and then a move was made to another part of the woods, to repeat the destructive process. Thus, not only were large quantities of timber of marketable value destroyed, but the damage done by the fires being allowed to spread into the surrounding woodlands in all directions also caused considerable injury to these. It was only gradually that anything like control could be exercised over this nomadic cultivation, and then practically only in the reserved forests. Some idea of the extent to which damage was formerly done in this manner may be formed from the fact that, according to the Census of 1901, over 1,886,000 persons were still dependent on such shifting cultivation for their

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livelihood. Steps are still being taken to limit the destructive effects of such shifting cultivation without inflicting undue hardship on the hill tribes practising it. And while the Forest Law is administered leniently, endeavours are made to get the people to understand, if possible, that forest conservation is undertaken for their ultimate advantage and not as a method of harassing them in small ways.

FOREST FIRES

The influence of forests on local climate, on water storage, and on soil fertility is of special importance in India, and particularly throughout the dry regions of Central and Northern India; while in the coastal regions and the mountain tracts with heavy tropical downpours the forest growth is highly beneficial in preventing disastrous erosion. The water storing capacity of the forests tends to obviate disastrous floods and to provide a regular water supply; and even in Burma, where nearly 75 per cent of the total area of the province is still under forest, it has been found necessary to take measures for reserving large tracts for water-storage purposes and for reafforesting arid areas for climatic reasons.

THE NEEDS OF DRY ZONES

The percentage of forest area in different provinces varies very greatly, and just where woodlands are most wanted there often happen to be few or no forests. Thus, in the great Gangetic Plain and north-westwards across the Punjab a densely populated area swarming with many scores of millions of human beings, few or no forests remain, the primeval woodlands having long ago been cleared for permanent cultivation. And as the necessity for, and the main justification of, having a Forest Department in India is mainly to be found in the assistance it can give to agriculture and to grazing in the densely populated tracts fringing the dry zones where scarcity is frequent and famine often to be feared, the question may well arise if it is not a duty which Government should recognize as incumbent upon it to regularly devote a large proportion of the surplus forest revenue in each year to the enclosing and sowing or planting of poor waste lands, uncultivated and unculturable at present, situated within the dry zones in different parts of India. The reservation and reafforestation of the largest possible number of areas as fuel and fodder reserves, to be worked mainly in the interests of agriculture, is a very important work which should be undertaken to a far larger extent than has hitherto been the case, for partially ameliorating the rural conditions during times of scarcity and famine.

THE FOREST DEPARTMENT

Before the Forest Department was formed in 1864 only Bombay, Madras, and Burma had Conservators of Forests; but in 1864 Conservators were appointed to the Punjab, Bengal, and Coorg, and subsequently also to the other provinces under the Government of India. In 1865 a Forest Act was passed, under which rules were promulgated at different times for the various provinces. As departmental organization developed, the need of a large number of well-trained officers soon became apparent. At first the Department was recruited by appointing military officers and others

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who seemed fond of rough camp life, or showed some aptitude for carrying out simple methods of surveying and enumerating the stock of the most valuable kinds of timber in the forests and for administering the few forest rules then in force. From 1869 onwards, however, recruitment mainly took place with young officers selected by the Secretary of State in London and especially trained in European forestry before being appointed Assistant Conservators in India. This regular annual appointment of trained men to the Department soon led to the expansion of work in all directions, and, as now organized, the Forest Department is a branch of the Revenue and Agricultural Department in the Government of India.

It consists of (1) an Imperial Forest Service recruited entirely with trained men from Britain; (2) a Provincial Forest Service recruited entirely in India; and (3) a Subordinate Forest Service, recruited locally in each Province. The Imperial Forest Service embraces all the administrative and the chief executive appointments. The administrative staff includes the Inspector-General with the Government of India, two Chief Conservators in Burma and the Central Provinces, and 19 Conservators in charge of provincial departments (circles), and directly responsible to the various local governments through their Revenue Secretary. These 19 administrative circles consist of forest divisions and subdivisions in charge of 130 deputy and 65 Assistant Conservators acting under the Conservators' orders. The Provincial Forest Service consists of 32 extra deputy and 113 extra Assistant Conservators, all of whom may be put in charge of minor divisions. The Subordinate Forest Service consists of 455 forest rangers, gazetted to ranges, and of a non-gazetted staff of over 14,000 foresters, forest guards, and others working in the forest beats into which ranges are divided. But even this large staff cannot really cope properly with all the work there is to be done.

The training of recruits for the Provincial Service and for rangers takes place at the Imperial Forest College, at Dehra Dun, in the United Provinces, with which an Imperial Forest Research Institute is also incorporated, while foresters are trained at the vernacular schools established in most of the provinces.

The first Forest Act of 1865 was soon found to be so defective as to make new legislation necessary; but it was not until 1878 that a good and practical Indian Forest Act was passed. It is, therefore, from 1878 that the really systematic conservancy of the Indian forests may be dated; while well-regulated and proper organization of office and jungle work dates from the issue, in 1877, of the first edition of the Forest Department Code giving specific directions for the conduct of business.

THE FOREST ACTS

The Indian Forest Act of 1878 gave power to deal with private rights in forests throughout which the State owned the chief proprietary right. But its provisions were not found suitable to Burma and Madras, for which separate Acts were passed in 1880 and 1882. These are the Acts (subsequently amended) now in force except in Burma, for which a new Act was passed in 1902, to unify the forest laws throughout both Lower and Upper Burma (annexed in 1886, and made subject to a special Forest Regulation); and under their authority Forest Rules are promulgated

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according to the various circumstances and requirements of the several provinces.

The guiding principle upon which the forests are administered under these Acts and Rules is that State forests should be managed for the public benefit, and should be so worked as to afford reasonable facilities for the use of forest produced by the public, while at the same time providing the necessary protection for their proper conservation with regard to the growth of timber, fuel, &c., and to the retention and storage of soil-moisture. According to the extent to which control is considered necessary or active management can be undertaken, the State forests are classified as Reserved and Protected or unclassified, the latter including wooded tracts, some of which, especially in Burma, may later on be cleared for agriculture. In round numbers there are now 100,000 square miles of State Reserved forests and 150,000 square miles of Protected forests; but gradual additions are being made to the former by the selection and reservation of the more important tracts to be found among the latter. In both classes of forest, however, the most important measures of conservancy are the prevention, so far as possible, of the ground fires which tend to overrun and devastate the forests, the maintenance of a due supply of seed-bearing trees, and the regeneration and improvement and cultivation of the more valuable kinds of timber-trees. These 250,000 square miles of State forest represent about 24 per cent. of the total area of British India. Plantations have also been formed to a total extent of about 150,000 acres, more than one-half of which are teak and cutch plantations in Burma.

THE RESERVED FORESTS

The State Reserved forests are of four classes. There are first of all those reserved from climatic considerations or for physical reasons, such as preventing the destruction of agricultural lands by hill-torrents. Then come those containing supplies of marketable timber, such as teak, sal, and deodar. In these forests reasonable facilities are given to the neighbouring rural population for the satisfaction, on easy terms, of their actual requirements as to building-timber, fuel, thatching, fodder, grass, cattle-grazing, and edible roots and fruits for themselves, with respect to which considerations of income are subordinated to the satisfaction of these requirements under the imposition of whatever restrictions may be necessary. In particular, the destructive system of shifting temporary cultivation is only permitted where jungle tribes are dependent on it for their sustenance, when it must only be exercised under necessary regulations. A third class consists of minor forests producing small timber or such as has no great marketable value; and these are managed chiefly in the interests of the rural population, fuel and grazing being supplied at moderate rates, while a smaller sum is paid by those living near the forests than is levied on those coming from other localities. And, finally, there are pasture lands, which, even more than the minor forests, are managed mainly in the interests of the villagers in their vicinity.

In every province some of the more valuable timber-trees throughout the unclassified forests have been declared "reserved trees," and can only be felled under special licence, sometimes granted free, but usually on payment of fixed felling and tonnage

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rates. Outside the Reserved forests the rural population are generally allowed to obtain from the State forests timber, fuel, bamboos, and grass for their own use free of charge; while inside the reserves rights of user acknowledged at the time of the "settlement" previous to reservation are preserved to the privileged public, and other persons are only permitted to extract timber or other produce on payment of fees and under special licence.

THE METHOD OF RESERVATION

Reserved forests are only formed out of portions of the protected or unclassed State forests after careful inquiry has been made concerning customary rights or privileges long exercised by the neighbouring population. When a local Government thinks active steps for reservation are advisable, a notification of intention to reserve is published in the official *Gazette*, and a civil officer is appointed for the "settlement" of the proposed reserve, by holding inquiry into the existence, nature, and extent of any rights to land included within the specified boundaries, or to produce from it. This "forest settlement officer" then publishes a similar proclamation and issues copies of it printed in the vernacular to every village in the vicinity of the land, and a period of at least three months is allowed for the receipt of petitions objecting to reservation or claiming rights of user. On a specified date he holds a formal judicial inquiry on the spot, records all the evidence offered and investigates the claims made to proprietary rights or customary user as to grazing, produce, &c.; and in the case of shifting cultivation he must record his opinion as to whether the custom should be permitted or prohibited wholly or in part, and must make a record of those to whom rights or privileges should be confirmed; or he can estimate the money value of petty rights with a view to their extinction by purchase. The proceedings are then submitted to the local Government. But any person feeling himself aggrieved can appeal within three months to the Collector or Deputy Commissioner of the district, and the local Government may, if it think this necessary, appoint a Forest Court of three persons to consider and adjudicate on such appeals. Then the local Government, if satisfied that reservation is desirable, may, by notification in the official "*Gazette*," declare the forest to be reserved from a certain date, and specify definitely the limits and boundary marks. The forest is demarcated with numbered cairns, posts, boundary boards, and blaze marks on three stems; and, in the case of forests containing much valuable timber, fellings remain in abeyance until a working plan has been drawn up, and has been formally approved by the local Government. Within five years the local Government may rescind or modify any order made regarding the settlement and reservation; but, after that, the special sanction of the Government of India is necessary to any further alternations that may be proposed.

The formation of scientific working plans for the various reserved forests was commenced in 1884, and up till now they have been prepared and approved for areas aggregating about 50,000 square miles. Their preparation necessitates a survey on the scale of two or four inches to the mile, and the employment of a special working-plans officer, with a large staff of enumerators. Their provisions usually extend for a period of 30 years,

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when a revision will take place. Fire protection is provided for by prescriptions laid down in the Forest Acts and Rules; but special measures have also to be taken, which are extended to about 40,000 square miles. These measures consist chiefly in clearing and maintaining "fire-tracts," which are broad paths kept as free as possible from inflammable "debris" during the hot season, and in employing watchers to check fires coming from the outside, and to prevent the entrance of persons who might cause fire either wilfully or through negligence.

LIFE IN THE FORESTS

The life of an Indian Forest Officer is usually very lonely, and for the most part spent in malarious tracts; for none of the forests, except those in the sub-Alpine tracts of the Himalayas, are above the fever limit. The amount of actual hardship, however, which has usually to be borne in carrying out jungle work varies greatly in different provinces. The service is most exacting in the trying climate of the purely tropical provinces, and especially where the climate is very moist and enervating, and where there are often few or no conveniences in the shape of good tracts and paths such as have been largely opened up throughout the Northern and Central Indian forests. As regards climate, officers serving in the Himalayan tract are much more enviably situated than those serving near wet coastal districts; and although some of the most interesting forest work is being done in Burma, it is generally admitted that service there is harder than in almost any other part of India. In all the provinces jungle life is full of interest to those having a taste for any branch of natural science, and the Forest Officer is to be pitied who does not possess a hobby in this direction or in the way of "shikar." But the time and the opportunities Forest Officers now have for big game shooting are comparatively small compared with what used to be the case in the early days of the Department; though in this respect the United and Central Provinces still offer the greatest attraction as regards tiger-shooting.

THE FOREST TRIBES

The work of the forester usually commences beyond where that of other departments ends. As an explorer first, then as a pioneer, and afterwards as an employer of labour he comes in contact with forest tribes who are naturally suspicious and jealous of any interference with the habits and customs of their primitive life. To them he is often the only European officer of whom they have any personal knowledge, and the sole representative of the British "Raj" of which they have all heard: and the success of officers opening out work in such tracts depends upon their ability to gain the confidence of these jungle tribes. The policy of government is to permit no sudden imposition of restrictions that may alter the accustomed mode of tribal life, but rather to win their confidence by kindness and gradually convert them into self-supporting communities, so that forest departmental work commences with their acquiescence, often only reluctant, and progresses with their assistance. Thus, in Burma it was hard to get the Karen hill tribes to begin planting, fire protection, and other work proposed by the Forest Department about 20 to 30 years ago, but now they would think it a

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great hardship if deprived of these substantial additions to their means of livelihood.

While most forest tribes are nomadic and more or less dependent on shifting cultivation, hunting, fishing, and the collection of forest products usually form a very important part of their occupation, and a necessary means of livelihood. With the necessary gradual restriction of these tribes to limited areas, especially demarcated within reserved forests, there must in course of time, and with natural increase of tribal population, be a diminution in the food supply that the forest can afford; hence it is more than probable that the tribal organization must in course of time become altered and transformed into village communities practising permanent cultivation. Under a harsh rule many of the smallest of such tribes would long since have disappeared; and now their protection and maintenance are only possible by carefully managing the forests in their interests.

A LESSON FOR THE DOMINIONS

The achievements of the Indian Forest Department form a splendid object-lesson for the other parts of the British Empire having extensive woodlands. In nearly all the Crown Colonies, as also in Cyprus, Egypt, and Siam, forest conservancy has been, or is being, introduced under the guidance of officers who have served in India. And if your two largest Oversea Dominions—Canada and Australia—desire to quickly introduce a sound scheme of forest conservancy, they cannot possibly do better than look to Indian experience for help and guidance. Both in Australia and in Canada it should not be difficult to draw up a general forest Act for the whole of the Dominion, under which Forest Rules could be framed to suit the special circumstances and requirements of each of the separate States. And it would also be easy to draw up for each of these two great Dominions a Forest Department Code, like the Indian one, to ensure uniformity in the conduct of departmental work.

THE PLAGUE IN INDIA

ITS EXTENT AND CONSEQUENCES

The precise effect upon India of the present pandemic of bubonic plague has never been properly considered or estimated. One reason is that the plague has been overshadowed and obscured by other great natural calamities which have occurred in India since the pandemic began. The existence of plague in Bombay was first officially noted on September 23, 1896. In 1896-7 India endured a visitation of famine which caused a mortality estimated at 750,000 in British territory alone. This was followed by the greater famine of 1899-1900, in which over 1,000,000 people perished in British districts, in addition to large numbers in native States. By the side of these vast misfortune the mortality from plague looked at the time comparatively small. Another reason is that plague has become such a commonplace matter in India that its graver consequences are apt to be disregarded. In many parts of the country it is now an incident of daily life. The people outwardly seem indifferent concerning

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it though they are really anything but indifferent as is seen at moments when the death-rate grows high. To many of the greater officials though not to the men in "the districts," it has grown to be merely a part of the ordinary routine of administration. Its larger aspect are lost sight of, or dismissed without much consideration, in the hope that another year may bring relief.

A third reason is that the full effects of plague are not readily perceived, except perhaps in the villages and the smaller towns. A traveller might journey to-day from end to end of India and never once realize from anything he says that plague was prevalent. The newspaper says little about it, for after 14 years the topic of a single epidemic disease does not bear much discussion. Their readers are tired of it. One begins to understand, in the light of Indian experience, why the fluctuating epidemic which recurred again and again in Europe for nearly 300 years were so rarely noticed by contemporary historians, after the first terrible outbreak of the Black Death. Yet several millions of people have perished from plague in India in the last few years, and however unwelcome the subject may be, the pandemic has become a very grave Imperial problem. It presents momentous issues, and no measure of review of Indian affairs can fail to take into account its possible future results.

THE MORTALITY FROM PLAGUE

Plague must be an old disease in India though the records concerning its earlier appearances are extremely scanty. The Indian epidemics of past centuries were so completely forgotten that Hirsch notes the general belief that Persia was "the eastern limit of the area of plague upon Asiatic soil." The Bombay Sanitary Commissioner reported in 1887 that plague had never, to his knowledge, existed in Bombay, and was "not in present circumstances ever likely to be there met with." The real fact is that Bombay, in common with the northern provinces of India, endured a severe visitation of plague at the end of the 17th century. It has also been said that plague existed in Bombay at the beginning of the 19th century, when it was certainly epidemic in Cutch, Kathiawar, and parts of Gujerat; but have seen no evidence on the subject. It is clear that India shared the common experience of the rest of the world when during the 19th century, the plague infection contracted until it only remained in a few remote and isolated areas.

The plague mortality in Bombay was not very great during the closing months of 1896. Only 2,219 deaths from plague were recorded for the whole of India during that year. There were probably many more, because in the first epidemic, from fear of rigorous sanitary measures, concealment of the cause of death was very frequent; but allowing for much misrepresentation and error, the number of deaths from plague was still small at the outset in comparison with what followed. Even in 1897 only 47,991 deaths from plague were registered. It was not until 1904, nine years after plague broke out in Bombay, that the recorded deaths from plague in the whole of India exceeded a million in a single year. The million limit was also passed in 1905, but the next year there was a great decline, though it was followed in 1907 by the heaviest plague mortality on record. In 1908 and 1909 the mortality was so greatly reduced that it was hoped the

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virulence of the infection was spent. Last year, however, the recorded deaths again rose to nearly half a million and the outlook this year is not at all encouraging. The total number of recorded deaths from plague in India, counting both British provinces and native States, since the disease was detected at Bombay in 1896, is as follows:—

Year	Deaths	Year	Deaths
1896	2,219	1904 ...	1,143,993
1897	55,324	1905 ...	1,069,140
1898	116,285	1906 ...	356,721
1899	139,009	1907 ...	1,315,892
1900	92,807	1908 ...	156,480
1901	282,027	1909 ...	174,874
1902	576,365	1910 ...	495,999
1903	883,076		
Total		6,860,211	

The total for 1910 is approximate, as the final corrected figures are not yet available. It will be noted that these statistics only represent the acknowledged deaths from plague. There is good reason to believe that the real total mortality from plague since the pandemic began is considerably higher than the table shows. For instance, at the time of the Census in 1901, the recorded plague mortality was under half a million, but the Census report afterwards stated that "it was known" that the true mortality was more, and it might possibly be a million. A large decrease in Bengal in 1902 was stated to be "more apparent than real," many plague deaths having been entered under "fever." Statements abound in the official reports suggesting that the real mortality is not shown in the recorded totals, owing to concealment of plague deaths, the occasional difficulty of diagnosing the obscurer forms of plague, and the defective system of registration of causes of death.

Perhaps the best way of bringing home to the people of the British Empire some conception of the enormous number of persons who have perished in India as a consequence of the present pandemic is to make a statement of comparison. The population of Greater London, including both the Metropolitan and City police districts, was estimated in 1909 to be 7,429,740. It is beyond question that the total mortality from plague in India considerably exceeds this huge figure. A number more than equivalent to the whole vast population of Greater London has been wiped out of existence by plague.

But, we are asked, are not the people of India always dying in enormous numbers from some epidemic or other? Do not the deaths from cholera exceed those from plague? Is not fever a far more common cause of death? Why attach so much importance to plague? Has there really been any excessive mortality above the normal annual death-rate? Is it not a fact that the population is now dying of plague instead of other diseases?

These questions can be very briefly answered. As to cholera, in the five worst plague years of the last decade the deaths from plague have vastly exceeded those from cholera. It is true that "fever" cause more deaths than plague, but it has to be remembered that most normal diseases in India are loosely described as "fever." Lieutenant-Colonel A. E. Roberts, I.M.S.,

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says that "the vast majority die without qualified medical attendance, and we have to rely on the crude impressions of the people, who attribute most fatal illnesses marked by a rise of temperature to "fever." The truth about the degree of excess mortality above the normal death-rate, which is attributable to plague, is exceedingly difficult to ascertain. Registration has only been in existence in India between thirty and forty years, and the gradual improvement in the system makes comparisons over a term of years untrustworthy. Moreover, in this investigation we are again reminded that India is not one country, but a number of countries. To try to estimate the real effect of plague mortality upon the death-rate, by examining the gross return for the whole of India, is an extremely misleading proceeding. It is just as though we tried to ascertain the effect upon the death-rate of Europe of severe epidemics confined to France and Russia. Such a line of inquiry would lead us nowhere. The only possible plan is to examine the mortality returns in the provinces most affected, which are Bombay, the United Provinces, and the Punjab. Careful inspection of the figures for these provinces leads to the conclusion that the bulk of the deaths from plague represent a mortality in excess of the normal death-rate. For instance, in 1907, the worst plague year in the Punjab, the mortality from all causes was calculated at a little over 62 per 1,000. No one would dream of denying that such a heavy death-rate is abnormal, and that the excess is mainly due to plague. The frequent epidemics in Bombay City have greatly increased the local death-rate. Plague is not a normal disease in India, as cholera is, and its vast ravages must be held to be an extremely abnormal factor.

EFFECT UPON HUMAN CONDITIONS

We arrive, then, at the very grave inference that in India in the last 14 years a multitude equivalent to the whole population of Greater London has perished from one epidemic disease and that the mortality for the most part represents an excess above the normal deaths. The bulk of the mortality has been confined to three provinces. In the Punjab, in the year 1907 alone, 608,685 persons were registered as having died of plague. Such an appalling visitation must have exercised a profound effect upon the people of the province, yet Government publications may be searched in vain for any satisfactory evidence of its consequences. Annually there is presented to Parliament an imposing Blue-book upon "The Moral and Material Progress and Condition of India." The volume for 1907-08 contains practically no indication whatever of the result from "moral and material progress and condition" of this terrible and abnormal mortality. A great deal is said about a minor famine in the United Provinces; but the only disclosures regarding plague in the Punjab are that it was "so severe as to disorganize the labour market and to affect the level of wages," and that many of the police deserted their posts. No future historian—no reader of to-day—would ever dream of examining that particular Blue-book and its successors, that in one province alone, with a population of 20 millions, over two millions had died of plague, mostly within the last eight years. This is a publication prescribed by law for the information of Parliament. For its preparation the Secretary of State in

Council is by statute responsible. It purports to collate "the facts bearing upon the condition of people." No more perfunctory production was even foisted upon an innocent and unheeding Legislature. It almost ignores the one great salient outstanding fact of the year 1907 in India.

The example I have quoted illustrates the limitations of the attitude of official India towards the ravages of plague. The disease had been eight years epidemic in the country before it occurred to anybody to appoint a number of trained investigators to find out how it was transmitted. Preventive measures were adopted readily enough from the beginning and money was spent like water in endeavours, to a great extent fruitless, to save human life, but the mystery of the causation of plague was never examined in a methodical, persistent, scientific manner for nearly a decade.

To this day no systematic attempt has been made to inquire into its effect upon the life of the people. Such an inquiry, if carefully conducted, should be of much political and administrative value. At present we are groping in the dark. We see a sinister array of figures, but no one, not even the officers of the Government, seems to have any adequate comprehension of all that this calamity may have meant for India. We know that in the earlier epidemics the people sought refuge in flight. It was estimated that during the first epidemic in Bombay half the population fled—and they carried the plague with them. We know by casual revelations that plague has affected the labour supply in many places. But what has been its permanent effect upon such cities as Poona, which has been repeatedly left desolate, and Bijapur, the scene of repeated epidemics? What, above all, has been its consequences in the villages of the Punjab, which it smote far more heavily than the towns? We know vaguely that plague is at least in part responsible for the widespread discontent which appeared in India soon after the epidemic began, but there is no attempt to discern the extent of the connexion between plague and unrest. The district officers are familiar enough with the situation. Why is there not some endeavour to collect and summarize the knowledge they possess in great abundance? The only useful testimony on the subject is found in an admirable review by the Bombay Government of land revenue administration in the Bombay Presidency in 1908-09. Its purport is that the labouring classes have derived benefit from the scarcity of labour, as they did in England after the Black Death. On the other hand, the classes with small, fixed incomes suffered grievously from the rise in the price of foodstuffs though prices are now rather easier.

CAN MORE BE DONE

It should be obvious that if plague is to be continuously present in India for an indefinite period its presence must materially affect the success, and perhaps ultimately even the stability, of British rule. The fact that more lives are now lost in the villages than in the great cities causes the terrible suffering and misery and terror which plague produces to be largely lost sight of. During an epidemic the people now seem apathetic and resigned, but no one who has witnessed the effect of plague upon an Indian village can doubt its deep influence upon social and

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political conditions. The difficulty is that there is a general tendency, visible both within the Government and outside it, to take the continuance of plague as a matter of course. The first outbreaks created excitement and alarm. To-day, though much devoted work is still being done, there is a visible tendency to regard plague as an insoluble, but hardly a vital, problem. It is handled carefully enough when it recurs in epidemic form, but the manifest feeling appears to be that it cannot much affect either the prosperity of India or the welfare of the Administration. Careful inquiry would probably show the danger of such a placid attitude.

Can more be done for the prevention of plague and the restriction of epidemics? At present, on a broad review of existing conditions, it is difficult to furnish an explicit answer. The Bombay Government tried rigorous measures, wholesale prohibitions, interminable inspections, forcible improvement of sanitary conditions. In the end its methods were rightly deemed to have failed. The reason is obvious. You may even introduce martial law, if you like, for one brief epidemic, but you cannot permanently interfere with the liberty and free movement of millions of people on account of a pandemic which seems likely to last for the whole of their lives. Some relaxation of preventive measures became inevitable, and at present the precautions taken are more permissive than compulsory in character. The best hope for the future lies in the possibility that a curative as well as a protective remedy may be discovered by the Plague Research Commission, which is still quietly at work. Meanwhile a reasonable degree of immunity is conferred by the Hoffkine prophylactic, though the people of India continue to regard the preparation with so much suspicion that its undoubted benefits are only meagrely utilized.

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A FLOURISHING PROVINCE

During the 50 years since Arakan and Tenasserim, annexed in 1826, and Pegu, annexed in 1852, were formed into the Chief Commissionership of Lower Burma in 1862, no other province in the Indian Empire has had such rapid and unchecked commercial development and prosperity as Burma. Various well-defined stages can easily be noted in this continuous development, the most important being the annexation of Upper Burma in 1886, the completion of the Railway from Rangoon to Mandalay during the work of pacification effected by Sir Charles Bernard and Sir Charles Crosthwaite by 1890, and the formation of a Lieutenant-Governorship for the whole of Burma in 1907. It is probable that a fresh impetus towards further commercial expansion will now again have been given by the new decentralizing financial contract entered into this year by the Government of India, which will give Burma as also the other provinces greater financial independence and a freer hand in everything that relates to increase of revenue, public works and commercial prosperity.

Of late years an increasing number of visitors to India have also found time to visit Burma. But they mostly do so at the end of a cold season trip in India; and though they may be charmed

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with the gaiety and joyfulness of the Burmese people, without caste and thoroughly democratic, and may enjoy the lovely river scenery, the beautiful hills, and the golden or white pagodas crowning the knolls, yet they fail to see them at their best and usually regret having put off a visit to Burma until so late in the season. The best time for seeing the country is from December to February, after which the air becomes hot and hazy and the distant hills fade out of view. The traveller who can spare about a month can spend a most enjoyable time seeing Rangoon and Mandalay, thence proceeding by railway to Myitkyna in the extreme north, then returning by steam launch through the defiles to Bhamo and descending again by the Irrawaddy right down to Rangoon in the luxurious steamers of the Irrawaddy Flotilla Co. And for the antiquary, as well as for the traveller seeking new sights and pleasing impressions, a short stay at the ancient capital Pagan, "The City of 10,000 Pagodas," will be well repaid, for the Buddhist antiquities there extend back to about the time of our Norman Conquest.

THE GROWTH OF POPULATION

The preliminary results of the census of February, 1911, which have already been published, show that the total population of Burma has increased by nearly 15 per cent., from 10,490,624 in 1901 to 12,057,295 now, or an increase of 1,566,671. While the female number 5,912,942, the male total 6,144,353, this excess being due to large number of coolies immigrating from India. The larger increase has taken place in the districts lying in or near the Delta of the Irrawaddy, where owing to the heavy and never failing rainfall the richest rice producing tracts are located. Curiously enough the only district in the Province in which there has been any decrease during the last ten years is in Mandalay (including also the town of Mandalay), until 1886 the heart and centre of the Kingdom of Ava, where the population has been reduced by over 25,000. In 1901 about four-fifths of the total population of the province consisted of Burmese and Shans and other hill tribes, but the results of this year's census have not yet shown to what extent the increase in population during the last ten years has been due to immigration from different parts of India.

The population of Burma consists mostly of agriculturists, over two-thirds of the total being entirely dependent on the cultivation of crops while less than one-fifth are artisans or arranged in occupations needing on specialized technical knowledge. Burma being an extremely rich country with a thin population and a vast extent of good waste land still awaiting clearance and cultivation, the material condition of the people contrasts very favourably with that of those in any other Indian province. Wages are high, especially in the lower part of the province; and even in the poor tracts of the dry zone wages generally are higher than in most parts of India. The internal trade is still mainly in the hands of the Burmese, but Indians and Chinese are gradually acquiring a large proportion of the petty business; and this is almost certain to be still more the case as immigration increases. And when once through railway communication from India to Burma is effected, by linking up the Rangoon-Mandalay Railway with the terminus of the Eastern Bengal Railway at Chittagong, by means of a line traversing Arakan, there is certain to be a great increase in

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immigration from Bengal and Upper India, which will take place without the breaking of caste now involved by crossing the "black water" of the Bay of Bengal. Whether from the dry plains of the Punjab or the dampest tracts of Bombay, Madras, or Bengal, the immigrants from India can find fairly similar climatic conditions in one or other part of Burma, with the advantage of there being nowhere any great extremes of heat or cold.

THE INDUSTRIES

Though some of the foreign immigrants return to their homes, either temporarily or permanently, there is very little emigration from Burma. The Burman himself rarely quits the province; and though during the last 20 years there has been a marked movement of population from the poorer dry zone in the centre of Burma proper towards the rich wet rice tracts in the south, yet there has been no tendency for the indigenous population to move from the rural areas into the towns. Although the women of the country are keen petty traders, yet the Burman is not in general likely to compete successfully with Indians and Chinese in industrial matters; and he seems to have already learned that he can best hold his own in agriculture and forest pursuits. Of domestic industries cotton weaving is the most important and widespread, for home weaving is still fairly universal among women and girls, and a loom is to be found in nearly every house; and the chief change that has taken place in this widespread rural industry is that foreign yarns and cotton goods are slowly but surely ousting the home dyed and home made articles. Silk weaving is still an important hand industry, but this is also being undermined by foreign silk goods. Of recent years the number of mills brought under the Factories Act has increased largely, the most important being rice mills to the number of 153, and sawmills to the number of 79.

RANGOON AND OTHER PORTS

The seaboard of Burma is well provided with good ports, nearly all of which occupy favourable positions at the mouths of rivers draining large and fertile alluvial tracts. At the extreme coast of the Irrawaddy Delta is Rangoon, the capital of the province, and at the extreme west Bassein; in Arakan, Akyab is at the mouth of the Koladan River; and in Tenasserim, Moulmein, at the mouth of the Salwin River, is the chief port, which was long noted for its export of teak timber before the annexation of Pegu in 1852. But now Rangoon is by far the most important of all these seaports, and over four-fifths of the total seaborne trade of the province passes through it. Originally founded by Alaungpaya about 1755 to commemorate his conquest of Pegu, Rangoon (literally "the end of strife") remained a poor and straggling town on a swampy and unhealthy tidal site; but during the 60 years since the British occupation, in 1852, it has grown to be the third seaport in India, ranking only behind Calcutta and Bombay in the extent and value of its trade. During the last 20 years the town has extended rapidly in all directions, while the value of land has increased greatly, both in the town itself and in the suburbs which have sprung up on both sides of the Rangoon River. The river banks are thickly studded with ricemills, sawmills, and foundries, whose chimneys constantly throw out long black steamers of smoke; while the residential portion of the town

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stretches to the north and north-west for three or four miles, and encircles the famous Shwe Dagon Pagoda—a great golden bell-shaped *stupa* as high as St. Paul's Cathedral, and looking still higher from its magnificent position on the top of a lofty knoll.

The population of Rangoon is now 289,432, which shows an increase of 44,002, or 18 per cent., on that in 1901; and the mainly industrial character of the city is very clearly shown by the remarkable fact that the males number 204,343, while the females only total 85,089, although there are 48,657 houses.

The total maritime trade of the province now aggregates close on £40,000,000, the chief exports being rice, timber, and petroleum and the chief imports piece-goods, cotton and silk goods, and yarns. The export of rice exceeds 2,000,000 tons a year, and amounts to over three-quarters of the total exports. The timber exports, principally of teak, vary from about 50,000 to 60,000 tons per annum.

THE SPLENDID FORESTS

The forests of Burma are one of the great natural sources of wealth not yet developed to anything like the extent that will later on be the case. In their general character as evergreen or deciduous, they vary according to the rainfall of different localities; but the most remunerative hitherto have been the dry hill forests in which the most valuable kinds of timber, and especially teak, are to be found. During the last 40 years the Forest Department has been busily engaged in selecting State reserves for the maintenance of permanent timber supplies; and although there are nearly 30,080 square miles of such reserved forests this important work is not yet near its completion. Such reserved forests are specially demarcated, protected and surveyed; and are then only worked under definite plan forecast for 30 years, and approved by the local Government, in order to ensure proper conservation for future supplies of teak and other valuable timber. But, at the same time, plantations, chiefly of teak, have during the last 30 years been formed to the extent of 80,000 acres. In accordance with these working plans mature teak trees suitable for extraction are girdled by the forest officers, to kill the trees and season the wood for floating, while felling and extraction is now almost entirely done by European firms holding contracts somewhat like leases, for definite forest tract and for several years. This policy was only introduced a few years ago, in consequence of the paucity of Imperial forest officers and now the only tracts worked by direct departmental agency, with Burmese contractors, are a comparatively small area of about 2,000 square miles, situated to the north of Rangoon and drained by the Hlain or Rangoon River. The merchant-contractors or leaseholders pay a revenue of about 35 rupees a ton of 50 cubic feet for the teak timber, but of course, the contract-price varies according to the locality of the forest and the expense of extraction. The forests bring in an annual revenue of usually about £400,060, after payment of all departmental expenses.

OIL AND RUBIES

Among minerals the chief product is the petroleum obtained in the southern portion of the dry zone, the oil being raised both

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by boring and from wells dug by native labour. The yield of petroleum is now about 200,000,000 gallons a year, and is likely to be greatly increased in the near future. The oldest and largest of the European petroleum companies is the Burma Oil Company, formed in 1886, which has a pipe-line from the oilfields to their refineries near Rangoon, the pipe-line following the trunk railway line for the greater part of the way. Few companies in the history of British commerce in any part of the world have yielded such magnificent dividends as the Burma Oil Company has distributed in recent years.

The ruby mines of Megok have been worked by the Burmah Ruby Mines Company since 1889, but neither ruby-mining nor coal, nor gold, nor iron, have yet added much to the wealth of Burma, while even the tin and wolfram deposits in the Shan States and in South Tenasserim have not yet proved really remunerative.

RAILWAY DEVELOPMENT

Communications, upon which the commercial development of any country greatly depends have been recently pushed on in a much more satisfactory and far more energetic manner than was formerly possible. The railway system, though only of 40 in. (metre) gauge, has proved well suited to the country and has been of immense advantage in opening up land-locked tracts. Aggregating about 1,500 miles in length, it consists of a main trunk line from Rangoon to Mandalay, and thence northwards on the other side of the Irrawaddy to Myitkyna, 724 miles north of Rangoon and about 20 miles below where two large streams unite to form the Irrawaddy River. Branch lines unite Moulmein, Promé, Bassein, and several other headquarters of districts with Rangoon. From Mandalay one branch proceeds for some distance up the valley of the Chindwin River to the west, while another proceeds north-eastwards through the pleasant hill station of Maymin to Lashio, the head-quarters of the Northern Shan States. Kathu, on the Irrawaddy, about 60 miles below Bhamo, is linked to the Mandalay-Myitkyna line; and from Bhamo a small light railway has been built to the frontier, where it meets the old trade route coming through Tengueh (Mormein) from Western Yunnan. The Southern Shan States are now also being opened up by a light railway, which should do much to develop an already important internal and transfrontier trade. The first and probably the only transfrontier railway likely to be made in the near future is that from the Irrawaddy through Arakan to Chittagong, which will have great administrative advantages, as well as offering a through land communication with India. Along with railways, roads have also been vigorously opened up, there being now about 2,000 miles of metalled and 10,000 miles of unmetalled roads. The rivers are still the only highways by which much of the interior produce is brought to the seaports; but in recording the development of the province one must specially mention the splendid services performed by the Irrawaddy Flotilla Company.

SOME DRAWBACKS OF PROGRESS

The great commercial development that has taken place and the "material progress" made in Burma during the course of the

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Last generation have unfortunately not been without considerable effect on the Burmese as a nation. It is only near the large towns, and especially throughout the delta of the Irrawaddy, that the Burman has to any great extent changed his former simple habits and customs with regard to household furnishing, dress, &c. In the interior of the country at large the influence of Western ideas and habits has as yet effected but little change in the daily life of the Burmese. But even there the old primitive order of things is beginning to change, to a greater or less extent commensurate with the degree to which contact with Europeans, natives of India, and Chinese is taking place. Parental authority is no longer held in such high estimation as formerly; and slowly, but surely, Burmese Buddhism is being undermined without any other religion taking its place. Government can do little or nothing to prevent this deplorable state of affair, which is bound to become more widespread, and more disastrous to the Burman as the development of the Province increases, and as more immigrants arrive from India and China to settle in this rich, fertile, and prosperous country.

Note by the Editor

Eight other articles of the *Times* Empire Day Supplement are crowded out of this number and will be reproduced in our next issue.

DIARY FOR MAY, 1911

Date

1. At the instance of the Advocate-General of Bengal, Mr. Justice Fletcher grants a rule on the printer, the publisher, and the editor of the *Bengalee* calling upon them to show cause why they should not be sent to prison for Contempt of Court for commenting on the proceedings of the Midnapore Damage Suit, now *sub-judice*.

2. Mr. Gregory, Standing Counsel, Bengal, applies to Mr. Justice Fletcher to issue a similar rule on the *Amrita Basar Patrika* for publishing certain comments on Mr. Weston's evidence in the Midnapur case.

Sir Compton Rickett, on behalf of the National Council of Evangelical Free Churches, London, gave a reception yesterday evening to the delegates of the Eurasian Committee.

3. A deputation consisting of members of the Simla Municipal Committee, headed by Mr. Kettlewell, C.S., President, waited upon the Viceroy at the Viceregal Lodge this afternoon and presented an address of welcome enclosed in a silver casket.

The Convocation of Canterbury adopted a resolution, moved by Bishop of St. Albans, commending the movement to promote the education of Europeans and Eurasians in India to the liberality of Churchwomen in England.

Reuter wires that the P. and O. S.S. *Macedonia* has shipped gold to the value of £ 100,000 for India.

A general strike takes place among the coolies of Simla as a protest against the conservancy tax.

Messrs. Justice Woodroffe and Carnduff of the Calcutta High Court disposed of the case known as the Dacca shooting case and acquitted the two accused.

4. The first general monthly meeting of the Asiatic Society of Bengal took place today.

5. At a meeting at the Mansion House, London, in support of the movement to promote the education of Europeans and Eurasians in India, the Lord Mayor, who presided, moved that "The education of children of Europeans and Eurasians being recognised everywhere as inadequate, this meeting is of the opinion that the defective education of this community must have disastrous religious, social and political effects, and must discredit our rule in India." Sir Andrew Fraser seconded the resolution, which was carried.

The General Synod of the Church of Ireland passed a unanimous resolution in support of the Eurasian education scheme.

6. At a meeting of the Site and Construction Committee of the Punjab Royal Memorial Fund it was decided to extend the Mayo Hospital so that it may hold 240 beds and total 399 beds.

7. Yesterday having been the anniversary of King Edward's death, the Viceregal Court terminated its period of mourning.

The Mekran expedition with the flagship and two R. I. M. transports returned to Bombay this night.

8. The *Bengalee* and the *Patrika* having expressed their regret, the two rules issued against them were discharged by Mr. Justice Fletcher.

The Madras Provincial Conference commences its annual today at Madras.

The annual meeting of the Calcutta Historical Society was held today under the presidency of Mr. Justice Stephen.

9. In reply to a question in Parliament by Captain Murray as to whether the Imperial Government would contribute towards relieving the

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burden on the Indian tax-payer on the reduction of the opium revenue, Mr. Montague said that it would be premature to consider the question until it is seen what China does under the new Agreement.

The steamer *Africa* shipped today £ 150,000 worth of gold to India.

A wire from Simla informs that sanction has been accorded to the imposition of a tax on dogs owned by private persons residing within the limits of the Lucknow cantonment and also to the imposition of a profession tax in the Campbell Cantonment.

A press *communiqué* issued by the Home Office states:—It has been decided that on the occasion of the Coronation Durbar at Delhi no presents for His Majesty the King-Emperor will be received. Addresses for presentation to His Majesty will only be received from really important public bodies upon the recommendation of the Local Government or Administration concerned, whose consent must in the first instance be obtained and by whom they will be forwarded to the Government of India. Addresses must be confined to congratulatory and complimentary matter, and none will be received which contain expressions of opinion on political questions, requests for favours, or allusions to topics of a controversial nature.

Another press *communiqué* issued by the Government of Bombay to-day states:—The continuance of plague among the people of the Presidency is a matter of deep concern to the Government. The weekly mortality amounts to a heavy toll of valuable lives, of which large numbers might have been spared if preventive measures had been accepted. The points on which it is desirable to lay stress are: (1) Since His Excellency met the editors of the Bombay and mofussil press at Parel in 1908, striking evidence has accumulated that inoculation is a safe and sure means of saving life; (2) The Government have provided a staff of trained inoculators, whose knowledge of the process is maintained at the necessary standard; (3) In places where plague does not exist people should seek protection against chance of an outbreak; (4) As all editors who followed the course of manufacture of *serum* at Parel will have observed, it is impossible that an injection can produce an attack of plague. The *serum* is in reality a vaccine, the effect of which need not be dreaded.

10 The steamer *Persia* shipped gold to the value of £ 100,000 to India.

Queen Alexandra received the Begum of Bhopal and her son today.

11. The thirteenth Madras Provincial Social Conference held its sitting at Madras today and among others passed a resolution supporting the special Marriage (Amendment) Bill introduced by Mr. Bhupendra Nath Basu into the Imperial Legislative Council.

Replying to Mr. Dillon in the House of Commons today, Mr. Montagu stated, with reference to the results of the recent expedition to the Persian Gulf and its cost, that the expedition had achieved its objects. Apart from the capture of a number of rifles, the general result had been to drive from the coast the Afghan traders in smuggled arms, who had returned owing to climatic conditions. The cost of the expedition was estimated at two lakhs and would be borne by India.

12. At an informal meeting held at Mr. Justice P. R. Sundara Jyer's residence at Madras, a Hindu Marriage Reform League was formed for the following objects:—(a) to raise the marriageable age of boys and girls, and to spread education among girls; (b) to educate public opinion on the question of marriage reform by means of lectures, books and pamphlets, etc.; (c) to obtain a volume of Hindu public opinion which may have the effect of modifying the system of early marriage to an appreciable extent in the near future; (d) to minimise marriage expenses and dowries; (e) to take steps generally for the extension and promotion of the above-mentioned objects.

13. Judgment was given today in the Amritsar murder case in which an Bhagwankakur, the widow of the late Sirdar Dayal Singh Majetia, and others were charged with a murder and concealment of evidence. The Judge, disagreeing with the Assessors, found the Rani guilty of murder and sentenced her to be hanged.

14. A meeting was held at Ranaghat, Bengal, to consider what steps could be taken to commemorate the memory of Krittibash, the immortal author of the first Bengalee version of the *Ramayana*, who was born in a village seven miles from the town of Ranaghat.

15. At a meeting of the Board of Scientific Advice held at Simla was settled among other things that the Director of Imperial Institute, London, and Reporter on Economic Products should continue their searches on turpentine, gentians, aconites, fragrant gums, dyes, oils, minerals, botany of Indian pulses, and review of Indian *jhar*.

16. At a public meeting held today under the presidency of Abu Ram Prosad, to consider the letter of the Bengal Government about the desirability of introducing the elective system in the constitution of local boards, it was resolved unanimously that in the opinion of this meeting the time has come when the elective system may be introduced in the selection of members in local boards in some districts.

At a meeting of the Pageant Sub-Committee of the King George Reception Committee held in the rooms of the Bengal Chamber of Commerce, it was unanimously decided that all religious items should be expunged from the programme.

17. Jotish Chandra Ghose, M.A., an ex-professor of the Hooghly College, who was arrested by the Calcutta police on suspicion of being implicated in the Dalhousie Square bomb outrage, appeared today before Mr. Tegart, Deputy Commissioner, for the fifth time since his release from custody. His bail was again renewed.

At a meeting of the Madras Corporation a resolution is passed in support of Mr. Gokhale's Education Bill.

A deputation of the Madras Provincial Conference waited on His Excellency the Governor of Madras.

Speaking at the Central Asiatic Society in London, Lord Minto urged the necessity for the protection of industries in India.

18. The members of the Hindu Social Club in East Rangoon arrive at the conclusion that Mr. B. N. Basu's Bill should be passed in its original form.

At a meeting of the citizens of Salem resolutions were adopted in support of the Special Marriage Bill and the Education Bill.

19. Reuter wires that M. Dupiat of the French Colonial Office has been appointed as the Governor of French Settlement in India.

20. Lord Reay today opened a new club room for Indian students at 170 Strand, London, which has been instituted as the result of the appeal made by the Students' Committee.

Mr. Bal Ganesh Venkatesh Joshi, Member of the Bombay Legislative Council and one of the most well-known economists of Western India, died today at the age of 60.

22. A wire from Khulna informs that the Mahomedans and Namadrus in the districts of Jessore and Khulna have had very serious riots going on for a couple of days.

23. Reuter wires that the Transvaal Asiatic trouble has been provisionally settled. Mr. Gandhi, interviewed by Reuter's representative, stated the settlement contemplated the introduction next session of legislation repealing the Asiatic Act of 1907 and restoring legal equality regarding immigration.

25. At a Privy Council held at Buckingham Palace today the King

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restored the seals of office to Lord Crewe, who resumes forthwith the Secretaryship of State for India.

The annual general meeting of the Burma branch of the Anglo-Indian Empire League took place today at Rangoon with Mr. H. Elsie in the chair.

28. The Syndicate of the Calcutta University passed the following resolution on Mr. Gokhale's Bill :—"That the Syndicate while sympathising on principles with the schemes for the extension of education, are unable to accord their approval to a measure which involves compulsory instruction and new taxation in that behalf.

29. The death is announced of Sir Charles Alfred Elliott who was Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal from 1891 to 1895.

REFLECTIONS ON MEN AND THINGS

BY THE EDITOR

**REFORM OF
THE IMPERIAL
COUNCIL
BADLY
WANTED**

So soon after the passage of the Indian Councils Act and the promulgation of the rules and regulations which brought that Act into operation, it has been found necessary by the Government of India to introduce some changes in the procedure of work in the Imperial Legislative Council regarding the discussion of the Budget. In the debates raised over many Resolutions brought before the Council, many non-official members of this body have felt that the present constitution of the Council leave very much to be desired and that, excepting inspiring a full-dress debate, their pious wishes count for nothing in the new Legislative Chamber. In the matter again of arranging sessions for the Council, the first year's procedure has been departed from this year. There was a complete cessation of legislative activity in the month of February this year, and Imperial Legislators had either a complete holiday or a whole month to look after their own affairs. Recently, there has been another notable departure in the procedure of the Imperial Legislative Council. Before the Councils were reconstituted, it was the practice, agreeably to some suggestions made by the late Lord Salisbury as Secretary of State for India, not to have any important political or public measures discussed at a session of the Imperial Council at Simla. We know, however, that Lord Minto had to pass important repressive measures, including the Seditious Meetings Act and the Crimes Act, at a session of his Council at Simla, but at the same time it must be remembered that such sporadic necessity for legislation was rather an exception than a rule. But since the new Council has come into being, there has been an autumn session at Simla last year and it is proposed to have an autumn session again this year. Last year a very important measure was brought before the autumn session and nobody is yet quite sure if any important legislation will not be included in the programme of the next autumn session. These changes are being effected quite imperceptibly and the public do not quite comprehending the full import of them.

One who has read carefully the proceedings of the last stage of the Budget debate for the last two years is bound to admit that he has practically lost all the importance and significance of

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the financial debates of the old Council. The second stage of the Budget in these days absorbs all public interest and official and non-official members put their best energy and ability in moving resolutions and discussing financial proposals at this stage, the first stage being only the formal introduction by the Finance Member of the estimates of the year. The interval of a week or so between the first and the second stage is of course at the present moment utilised by all members in studying the Statement laid on the table by the Finance Member. When the second stage commences, the Council generally goes in session for four or five days together, leaving very little time to non-official members either to follow intelligently or to equip themselves properly for the many complicated questions of finance that crop up in these debates. It is, therefore, evident that members have to hurry themselves with their work as best as they can at this second stage of the debate, while in the third and the last stage they have two whole days in doing nothing but in producing essays of portentous length dealing with all possible and impossible questions of Indian administration. It is, therefore, difficult to conceive the necessity of this stage of the debate at all, particularly in view of the fact that the Council is not allowed to divide itself on the Budget. If this time could be utilised in extending the period of the second stage of the debate, it would no doubt be of great advantage to the treasury benches as well as to non-official members. This arrangement, instead of giving the Council a holiday in the middle of the session, would enable the legislative work of the whole session to be concluded by about the middle of March, at least a fortnight before the usual time of its close.

There has been another noticeable change in the procedure of the Council which has generally escaped public criticism and which must be regarded as a great constitutional departure. During the last two Calcutta sessions, the Viceroy did not preside over his Council when the House went into Committee at the second stage of the Budget Debate, with the result that non-official members were precluded from taking all those liberties in the discussions which the Viceroy alone could allow and which would undoubtedly broaden the basis of the premier Legislature of the Empire. Nor should it be forgotten that the absence of the Viceroy from the financial debates takes away a good deal of the grace and dignity of the Council. We have, of course, seen it asserted that it is not possible for the Viceroy to sit in the Council from day to day and from morning to evening listening to useless details, and we readily admit that it would be very hard upon the Viceroy

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worked and the most responsible officer of the State to find four to five hours' time every day for nearly a week, at one of the busiest seasons of the year, in regulating academic discussions in the Council Chamber. But the whole difficulty involved in the Viceroy's presence in the Council, at a time when it goes into Committee with the budget of the year, may be obviated by restricting the duration of its meetings for not over three hours a day and by holding them not more frequently than thrice a week. The abolition of the third stage of the debate would naturally help in allowing such a scheme being followed without interfering with the Viceroy's time or the general convenience of members. So long as the non-official members do not have some actual and definite control over the public purse and so long as a sufficient sense of responsibility is not thereby awakened among official and non-official members alike, the presence of the Viceroy in the Council is an absolute necessity to lend dignity to the proceedings of the most important debate of the year and to ensure sympathetic rulings on points of order and discussion in that connection.

In this connection one cannot but draw attention to the facts that, under the existing arrangement of things, the Council meets less frequently than the requirements of the country actually demand and that two months in the beginning of the year and one month in the autumn is too short a time for controlling the administration and providing for the legislative needs of the country. We of course know that the Legislative Council has nothing to do at present in controlling the administration of affairs in India. But the fact must not be lost sight of that, if the Council had met more frequently, some of the non-official members could have availed themselves of the opportunity either by interpellations or by resolutions to draw pointed attention to many changing and fitful phases of the administration. If popular members had greater opportunities

bringing high-handed or irregular proceedings of provincial officials and their fiery lieutenants before the notice of the government, a very great moral check could be brought to bear upon the entire tone of the administration. Now, between the autumn and the inter session, many things happen in India which are clean forgotten before members have any opportunity of drawing the attention of the Council to them. We therefore beg to suggest that the Councils should meet, no matter whether at Simla or at Calcutta, at least four times during the year, reducing thereby the congestion of work in any particular session and affording at the same time greater opportunities to members of all communities in bringing public questions more

to the front. In the days of the old Councils, it would have been impossible, with the exodus to the hills going, to carry out such a suggestion in view of Lord Salisbury's despatch discountenancing legislative sessions at Simla. Now that the practice has already been departed from, and perhaps with the acquiescence of the Secretary of State, we do not see why, during the eight months' time that the Imperial Government summer at Simla, there should not be at least three instead of merely one session of the Council at Simla. Non-official members should, therefore, press the Government of India to have more sessions of the Council to enable them to discuss public questions by resolutions and interpellations more frequently than they are able to do now. There may be under this suggested arrangement some difficulty with some members to attend all the sessions. But whether it is convenient to all or not, the Council must not go out of its way to put restrictions upon its usefulness in order to meet the convenience and wishes of certain members. The members must suit the Council and not the Council the members. Nor is it necessary that all members, particularly the ornamental ones, should attend all the sittings of the Council. It is only to give wider opportunities to men who devote their life to public cause and public affairs and to afford more numerous occasions for the discussion of public questions that we make this suggestion of having more frequent sessions of the Legislative Council, and we hope the suggestion will receive due consideration at the hands of both non-official members of the Council and the Government of India.

As for the constitution of the Council itself, every one must admit that it badly wants an infusion of the democratic and popular element. The Council's regulations have succeeded in reducing the Imperial Legislature into a mere debating society without any verve or life. It is something like the Upper or the Gilded House of the British Parliament where everything takes a conservative and humdrum shape. Fresh blood is very badly wanted in the Imperial Council and the regulations must be so changed as to allow of its introduction without any delay. We hope before the next term of the Council begins in January 1913, there will be found means to have in the Chamber representatives of all the learned professions of India, including law and journalism.

